Introduction

121 The following collection of myths, stories and chants was made during a visit to Pukapuka (Danger Island) in 1934-35. Conditions under which the material was gathered have been already described [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 3-4, category 116--analyst.]

128 With the exception of several of the stories, all the myths, tales and chants were collected in text and translated in the field with the help of competent informants. Text and translation are given for two stories in order to indicate something of the flavor of the Pukapukan literary style and the characteristic methods of story telling [Texts and translations for 3 other stories have been also given--analyst.] The remainder of the myths and stories are presented in a summarised form only, full texts and translations being filed in the Library of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. A few only of the many chants collected are given here, the remainder also being filed in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Story Telling

538 Story telling in Pukapuka is largely incidental to the
533 composing and reciting of chants. Yet the chants draw on the stories for incidents, references, and allusions in very large measure. A chant may serve as a sort of shorthand commentary on a well known story; unless the story is known and kept in mind, the chant itself, obscure at best, is practically unintelligible. This will be clear from the chants recorded. Though proverbs are unknown, sententious evaluation of persons or events is by stereotyped reference to characters or incidents in stories and legends.

[537] Oratory as a formal art is undeveloped. The technique of
[195] story telling does not differ from that of ordinary conversation.
538 In both there is intense dramatization of the subject matter by gesture and vocal expression. When they told the Maui story, for example, informants acted it out as if they were reliving the incidents: Maui's pulling in a fish involved vigorous movement of hand and body until every fathom of fish line was hauled in from the depths of the ocean. All noises are reproduced by the narrator with great fidelity and emphasis, whether the sound "Bup!" indicating the paddling of a canoe or the harsh ejaculation "Pa! " expressing contempt or anger. When the story was completed, informants seemed both emotionally and physically exhausted and a long breathing spell was required before another story could be started. More intense dramatization I have never seen in story telling anywhere.

538 Direct quotations in a story are always pitched higher than the ordinary speaking tone. This is a matter of convention and it makes no difference whether it is a giant or a small child who is supposed to be speaking. There is no attempt to imitate the voice of the subject speaking; the high pitched tone indicating that the narrative is broken by a quotation is sufficient. The end of a descriptive sequence or of the development of a minor or major theme within the story as a whole is always indicated by the word oti (finished). The use of this word roughly corresponds with our own tendency to pause in speaking or to end a paragraph in writing. Continued action or passage of time is indicated by a long drawn out e-e-e sound. Where a final adverb is used to qualify a statement as in the phrase: "He speared him makeke (hard)", the adverb is pronounced with force, very slowly and with great facial gesture. A final convention that may be noticed is the almost complete absence of the third person nominative and accusative pronouns in story telling. No confusion seems to be caused the Pukapukan auditor by this omission, though it sometimes renders it difficult for a European auditor to follow the sense of the particular passage. The place of the pronoun however is often taken by a repetition of the proper name of the person affected. The beginning of a story is usually devoted to an enumeration of the names of the people about whom the story is told, their sex and lineage affiliation.

126 Most of the stories were dictated by Veti and Pau. Talainga wrote out several of the longer stories in Pukapukan. Stories without text were secured from a group of informants. They were generally told by one narrator who stopped at frequent intervals to consult with his companions in order to be sure of the continuation of the narrative.

538 An attempt was made by some informants to distinguish two types of stories (tala): tala wenua and tala wanongo. The distinction, made notably by Talainga, though not absolutely clear, seems to be this: Tala wenua are stories about Pukapuka, its origin and history; tala wanongo are Pukapukan stories which relate events that occurred elsewhere. Of the stories he recorded, Talainga named as tala wanongo the story of Maui's fishing up of Tonga, the story of Laumeakula and Laumeamelo, the story of the raising of the sky, and the story of the tavake bird. The other stories he recorded, of the voyage of Wue, of the defecating of Yawau, of the fight in Waletoa, are tala wenua. Other informants disagreed with Talainga's classification but could not clarify the matter. Because it is obscure in the first place and, secondly, cuts across the accepted classification of myths and folktales, the

538 native classification is not here followed.

801 The motif of "threes" appears in all stories whether mythical or historical. Thus Tamayei flies three times to Pukapuka from Tonga in the form of a bird before he sees the head of the stone appearing above the water. Lingutaimoa calls her lost pet manini fish three times, then she calls for a wave to take her to the horizon: the first and second waves are not good, but the third wave bears her to her destination. The use of this "three" motif together with other types of repetition serves as a technical device to heighten suspense, increase the dramatic qualities of a narrative and produce an exciting climax.

538 Infrequent occurrences of the motif of animal transformation are found in the folktales and stories of gods' contact with humans. The god Tamayei comes to Pukapuka twice as a bird, the third times as a god. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto are transformed into land animals and sea animals. Leiakunavai is transformed into a rat because her children insist on bringing her husband back to her island. The god Nagliyeyeu transforms himself into a bird in order to seduce a woman, and in another story of Ngaliyeyeu and his friend the god Te Awuawu, birds transform themselves into men in order to assist a canoe crew from Loto to steal nuts from Motu Kotawa. A final case of transformation occurs in the story of Vaetuaniu where a spirit becomes a log in order to drift to an island of children. This completes the examples of transformation, whether animal or otherwise;
[171] it is evident that the motif is not as common in Pukapukan stories as it is in other parts of Polynesia. Only a few stories are told in which all the characters are animals. That such stories are found in Pukapuka is further indication of the western Polynesian phrasing of the culture.

Myths

773 The myths of Pukapuka are few in number. They concern the lifting up of the sky; the pulling up of the land of Tonga by Maui; the testing Maui by the gods; the naming and coloring of the fishes by Maui, Yina, and a third culture hero, Walemate; other fragmentary stories of the goddess Yina; a fragment about the discovery of fire by Mauikatoto [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 97, category 773, 539 or 116 --analyst.] said to be unrelated to the better known Polynesian hero Maui Potiki; and finally the story of Lata. These stories help to explain natural phenomena. They link up with the stories of the origin of Pukapuka [see 1: Beaglehole and

773 Beaglehole, pp. 375-377, category 539 or 116--analyst.] and
the origin of the maternal moieties [see 1: Beaglehole and
Beaglehole, pp. 222-223, category 539 or 116--analyst.]
Geographical features of Pukapuka are explained in the origin
story. Tumulivaka made the taro beds by stamping his angry
773 feet on the ground. A variant account explains the atoll's
103 old name, Te Ulu-o-te-Watu (Head-of-the-Stone): When the
gods were building up the stone (the island), they made the
navel of the land at the place called Te Yalo in the middle of
the reserve of Uta. Its two legs are the reserves Ko and
Kotawa. As their work was interrupted by Mataliki, the gods
had no time to make the arms, eyes, or the rest of the
anatomy. Hence the name, Head-of-the-Stone, because only
the head (plus feet) of the stone body was completed.

Raising of the Sky

773 The first myth, the story of Lu and the raising of the sky, is said by some informants to tell of happenings in the land of Yamoa (Samoa) when all the inhabitants of that land were gods.

539 The sky was quite low down and stuck to the earth. The gods were groping about. They cried out for one to raise the sky so that they might be able to sit and stand upright. The god Vaelua crawled to the land of Tongaleleva, there to ask Lu, a tall god with a large body, originally from the distant land of Aolako, to come to Yamoa and raise the sky. Lu arrived with his two friends, Pingao and Yaloa. The two friends raised up one side of the sky and the three gods crawled underneath it as far as the center. They raised the sky a little, but the gods of Yamoa were dissatisfied. Lu turned on his side, raising the sky higher, but the gods were again dissatisfied. Lu turned over on his belly, rested both arms on the ground and pushed himself into a sitting position. The gods were satisfied for the moment as they walked about but they soon asked Lu to raise the sky higher. Lu knelt on his knees while Pingao and Yaloa spread out the sky evenly, tearing it apart from the earth in those places where it was stuck. The gods asked for the sky to be higher still. Lu stood up on his feet, then on tiptoe,. and finally stretched his arms above his head, pushing the sky higher until it stuck above the earth. Thus the sky was separated from the earth and the gods of Yamoa made happy.

Maui Cycle

773 Among the gods who were relieved from distress when Lu
171 raised up the sky were the three Maui brothers. The Pukapukas

773 171 story of how Maui Potiki went fishing with his brothers and fished up the land of Tonga follows the general pattern of the widespread Polynesian narrative, in which Maui Potiki is generally held in contempt by his two elder brothers, only to succeed in the end by making the brothers look ridiculous. Nothing is known in Pukapuka of Maui's parentage. The Pukapukan narrative includes an account of the naming of certain stars, the origin of taro and pulaka, the dispersal of the gods from Tonga which resulted in the discovery of Pukapuka by Tamayei and the settlement there of many of the dispersed gods. The story was written by Talainga. For the names of the Pukapukan fishes mentioned and the fishing method used by the three brothers, see [1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 64-65, category 116--analyst.]

539 Ko te wanongo o Maui ma:

Ko Maui Mua, ma Maui Loto ma Maui Potiki. Talatala loa i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, ka wo laua wangota. Tapena loa a laua penupenu. Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "Ka wo la kolua wangota? Ka tatou mo ka wo?" Kakole la lua ona taina ia, "Ka yau wua koe ki te kakole, wakala ma te la? Koa koe iloa la e te yi ika? E yi oki la au kawa?" Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "E kole la, ke wengatu wua au i muli o kolua, ke onoono wuake i a kolua yinga. Aumai la e kawa maku ke wakamatautau ake ai au e te yi ika." Kakole i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto. "I a ngakaumate, e wai kawa i ana! te kawa ka wakalavea. Ke lavea io mo makai loa koe i te moana." Totoko loa i a Maui Potiki, "E kole lava, ko tatou lava ka wo. Tapena kolua e

The story of Maui and the others:

There were Maui Mua (the first), Maui Loto (the middle), and Maui Potiki (the baby). Maui Mua and Maui Loto talked, they were going fishing. They prepared their gear. Maui Potiki protested, "Are you two going fishing? We are all going, aren't we?" His two brothers objected, "Are you going to come just for nothing, merely to expose yourself to the sun? Do you know how to fish? Besides, have you any line?" Maui Potiki insisted, "No, just let me go (along) behind you two that I may watch your fishing. Bring a line for me that I may practice at fishing." Maui Mua and Maui Loto were scornful, "The cheeky fellow, he take a line! The line will get caught on a rock. If it caught on a rock, you'd throw it into the sea, wouldn't you?" Maui Potiki was stubborn, "No indeed, the three of us shall go. You two prepare a line for me, and a hook." His two brothers

539 kawa maku ma e kau." Meake lua ona taina ia, "E totoko," wakaloaloa, mea loa, "Ka wo tatou." Veveia loa i a Maui. Ko Maui Potiki, e tama wai manamanaa. Tapena loa latou i a latou kawa ma latou kau, ma te kawapoto, ma te kau wakalialia. Ko te kawa la a Maui na yuai ai e lua tokalua ia e kawa papala.

Oti ake, wo loa latou. Eia te wangota ka wo ai latou, e tukumoana. Alo loa to latou vaka wakaui ake, to ki tua, makake to latou tau. Kamata loa latou i te yi. Tuku loa i a Maui Mua i tana kawa ki lalo, wakayeke loa, tu ki lalo. Kai loa tana palu, e palu ave. Tuku oki i a Maui Loto i tana kawa, wakatu ake, tu ki lalo. Kai loa tana palu mumu. Wuwuti loa a laua palu ia, oko ki lunga.

Yiliyili loa i a Maui Potiki, "E wea te wowonu o te konga nei?" Kakole i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "E lau ma witunga kumi." "Ti e kole pe e lualau e tu ai ki lalo." Teia te mea ya peiai laua, kae lavea tana kawa; eia te loe ya peiai lua, kae puku ni palu, wolea laua, wakatangilia laua e Maui Potiki. Ko te mea ia ya makeke ai laua. Ya to tamaiti oki i a Maui Potiki, e kiai na matau e te tuku palu, e laua ya mou wo tuku palu.

said, "He's obstinate." (In the end) they felt sorry for him and said, "We shall all go." Maui was happy. Maui Potiki was a fellow who could perform magic They got ready their lines and their hooks and a short line and a wretched hook. Maui's line provided by the two (brothers) was a rotten line.

(That) finished, they went. This is the type of fishing they were going to (do), tukumoana. They paddled their canoe, rushed it over the reef, went to the back, dropped their anchor. They started the fishing Maui Mua put his line down, let it out, (until) it was down (deep). His palu bit, a palu ave. Maui Loto also dropped his line, let it out, (until) it was way down. His palu mumu bit. They pulled in their fish, got them up.

Maui Potiki asked, "How deep is the place here?" Falsely Maui Mua and Maui Loto replied, "It's 170 fathoms." "What? Oh no, it is certainly two hundred to get all the way down." This is the reason they (the two older brothers) spoke thus, so that his line would not get caught (on a rock); this is another (reason) they acted thus, lest he might catch some palu, beat them, and they be made to cry by Maui Potiki. For that reason they were hard. Besides Maui Potiki was younger, not yet used to fishing palu, (while) they had often fished palu.

539 Oti ake tuku loa i a Maui Potiki i tana kawa, wakayeke ake, tu ki te lau ma witunga kumi, ya tala e lua ona taina. Wakamatala loa tana watu; kai loa tana palu yayaulua. Kiki loa i a Maui Potiki, tupe loa i tana ika ia, tupe loa e, pau te kawa lunga; tupe oki e, tu lotototonu te kawa loto; tupe oki e, pau te kawa loto. Iliili loa i a Maui Potiki ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto: "Maui Mua ma Maui Loto e, ewea taku ika nei?" Kakole lua tokalua ia, "E yengayenga, e palu mumu." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Kakole, koiai?" Tupe oki i a Maui Potiki, koa tali pau tana kawa. Onoono atu la latou ki lalo, e palu yayaulua pe. Kakoli i a Maui Potiki, "Koi a kolua la, e yengayenga, e palu yayaulua koia." Kamuloa lua ona taina la makekea. Ya wakayi wua laua. Tapi koia e motu e kawa papala nayuai ai e laua. Kakole pe, ya wakamakekeina e na mana o Maui Potiki. E tama wai manamana.

That finished, Maui Potiki dropped his line, let it out (till) it reached to the 170 fathoms (depth) mentioned by his brothers. He loosened his stone; his palu yayaulua bit. Maui Potiki pulled hard, pulled in, pulled in e-e-e, (got) all his top line in; he kept pulling, e-e-e, reached the middle of his line; kept on pulling, e-e-e, got all the middle line in. Maui Potiki asked Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Oh Maui Mua and Maui Loto, what is my fish here?" These two answered indifferently, "It's yengayenga, a palu mumu." Maui denied this, "No, you think so?" Maui Potiki kept on pulling, his line was nearly all up. They looked below, it was indeed a palu yayaulua. Maui Potiki taunted (his brothers), "According to you two there, it's a yengayenga (but) it's a palu yayaulua all the same." His two brothers were very jealous. They had just let him fish (for fun). If only (his line) had broken (it was) a rotten line they had given him, but no, the mana of Maui Potiki had made it strong. He was a fellow who could make magic.

Maumu oki i a Maui Potiki i tana kauyele ki te watu, tuku ake ki lalo, wakayeke ake, tu ki te konga na wakangatai i ana. Wakamatala loa tana watu. Kai loa tana kau a pulaka. Tupe oki i a Maui Potiki, pau te kawa lunga; tupe oki e, pau te kawa loto. Iliili oki i a Maui Potiki. "Ewea oki taku

Maui Potiki fastened his fishing noose with a stone, put it down, let it out, got it down to the place he had left off. He loosened his stone. His pulaka stalk bit. Maui Potiki pulled up, finished the top line. Maui Potiki asked again, "What is my thing here?" Indifferently his two brothers said, "Probably a palu ave or a palu wutu."

589 mea nei?" Kakole lua ona taina ia, "Awa e palu ave pe palu wutu." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Kakole, koiai? Ewea taku mea nei?" Tupe oki i a Maui Potiki, pau te kawa lalo. Opoono atu latou ki lalo, e kau a pulaka. Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Koia kolua e palu ave; e pulaka koia. E nei e iai te kaua pulaka nei." E mea yia a Maui Potiki. Ko Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, ko yi wua lua i te lolau palu tukumoana. Eia no ingoa, e yengayenga, palu mumu, palu ave, palu wutu, palu yiloa, palu malau, palu paniwi, palu matapula, palu kalou, palu mango, kaupatuwao, katakata. Koi ai na toe palu, ma na toe ika o te wangota tukumoana ia.

Maui Potiki disagreed, "No, you think so? What is my thing here?" Maui Potiki kept on pulling, finished the lower line. They looked below, it was a *pulaka* stalk. Maui taunted, "According to you two it is a *palu ava*; it is *pulaka* all the same. Here is the *pulaka* here. It was something fished up by Maui Potiki. Maui Mua and Maui Loto fished only the *lolau palu* fished by the *tukumoana* method. These are their names: [The text here mentions the names of 16 deep sea fish.] There are other *palu* still and other fish caught by th *tukumoana* method.

Tuku oki i a Maui Potiki i tana kawa. Yi oki i te wawa. Mea oki pe ana meanga i ana meanga mua. Tuku oki i a Maui Potiki. E iai te wawa ma te wuti nei e mea yia e Maui Potiki.

Maui Potiki cast his line again he fished up taro too. He did as he had done before. Maui Potiki fished, hooked a banana. Maui Potiki pulled it up too. Thus the taro and the banana here are things fished by Maui Potiki.

Tukutuku oki a Maui Potiki, wakayeke ake i tana kawa lalo pau, wakayeke oki i tana kawa loto pau, wakayeke oki i tana kawa lunga tu ki te konga e wakangatai. Tamata loa i ana e te wakayeke. Yeke atu tana kawa ia ki lalo, tu loa ki te konga ya wakatu ai lua ona taina.

Maui cast again, let all his lower line all out, his middle line all out, and his top line to the depth of the place he had left off. Then he started to let it down. His line went below, reached the place his two brothers had fished at. Maui let still more out, he didn't stop, the line simply kept going down. Maui Potiki said to his

539 Wakayeke atu oki, koa ye tu, koa yeke wua te kawa. Mea koa i a Maui Potiki ki lua ona taina, "Ewea taku mea nei? Koa ye tu ai. Tiai ka wowonu ai? Ti!" Kakole pe, ko iko tana kawa i a te ulu o te wenua i lalo o te moana. Tamatatu la i ana e te tupe. Langa mai la i ana, koa ye malanga. Onoono mai la lua ona taina mua, koa makeke te kawa a Maui Potiki. Kakole lua tokalua la, "Teia la, lavea tana mea ya tukutuku ai ki lalo. Koa ye tu oki Lukuna." Meake i a Maui Potiki, "E makeke." Tamata loa i ana e te kiki. Wakalonga atu la i ana ki te kawa, koa malu mai. Kiki loa i ana ma te wakalongo i tana kawa. Tawi ai ana peia. Wakalongo atu la i a Maui Potiki, koa motu mai te punga o te wenua. Wakalongo atu oki i ana, ko tipi te wenua i lalo o te moana. Kakole la i a Maui Potiki ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Koia kolua la, na lavea angaoti. Onoono mai la kolua, kowea, taku ika e lele nei. Ewea taku mea nei?" Koa ye vava lua ona taina ia. Koa waingata a laua ngangananga. Koa mea peia, "Kei! Ewea la? Awa e mea." Koa ye tapa tonu i na ingoa o na ika. Koa lai te mea waike a Maui Potiki koa yi.	two brothers, "What is my thing here? It doesn't stop. Why is it so deep? Whew!" but no, his line was twisted round the top of the island below the sea. He started the pulling up. He pulled, but couldn't budge it. His two older brothers looked, the line of Maui Potiki was caught tight. The two of them sneered, "There now, it's caught, his thing (line) that he put so far down. It doesn't stop either. Dive down for it." Maui Potiki said, "It's tight." He started to pull in. He listened to (felt) his line, it was getting weaker. He pulled on it, feeling the line. He held it so. Maui Potiki listened, the rock of the island was breaking. He listened again, the island below the sea was moving. Maui Potiki taunted Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "According to you two there, it's gotten caught and that's all there is to it. You two look here, why, my fish is swimming here. What have I here." His two brothers made no answer. Their reply took a long time to come. They said, "I don't know, what is it? I suppose it's something." They did not correctly name the fish. The strange things fished by Maui Potiki were many.
Tupe loa i a Maui Potiki i tana mea ia, pau te kawa	Maui pulled in on his thing, finished the top line. He pulled

539 lunga. Tupe oki pau te kawa loto. Tupe oki tali pau te kawa lalo. Ko na tipitipinga la o te wenua, kamuloa i a Maui Potiki kikokikoia. Mea oki i a Maui Potiki, "Ewea taku mea nei?" Kakole i a lua ona taina ia, "Awa e watu tongi, e la ya makeke ai kowea mua; koa taenawa na." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Kakole, koiai? Ewea taku mea nei?" Mea loa i a Maui Potiki ki lua ona taina ia, "Onoonoliake." Ke onoono atu la latou ki lalo, onoono atu oki ki na kaokao o to latou vaka, ma na konga mamao koa kakao te wui ulu lakau, koa taumangamanga. Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "Koia kolua, e watu; e wenua koia."

Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki, tango loa i te matai. Puta loa te ulu o te wenua, kitea ma te kelekele. Tapa loa ma te ingoa, ko Tonga. Onoono atu te wui atua, ya lulu i te wenua na yia e Maui Potiki. Kakalo atu latou, e ao ke. Mimia loa te wui atua.

Maunu oki i a Maui Potiki i tana kau, tuku oki ki lalo, wakayeke ake, tu ki lalo, yi oki ana wenua. E lai tana wenua na yi: ko te atu wenua, ko te atu Yiva, ma te atu Yayake, ma te atu Manuyiki, ma te atu Lakawanga, ma te atu Yamoa, ma te atu Tokelau,

in also all the middle line. Then he pulled nearly all the lower line. (Against) the tiltings of the island, Maui pulled with all his strength. Maui Potiki asked, "What is this?" His two brothers were indifferent, " I guess it's a large rock, that is what made it tight at first; it's heavy there." Maui Potiki persisted, "No, you don't say? What is my thing?" Maui Potiki said to his brothers, "Look here." When they looked down, looked also at the sides of their canoe and to far off places, there appeared in sight the various treetops which were branching out. Maui Potiki objected, "According to you two, it is a stone; it's an island all the same."

Maui Potiki pulled in his line, grasped the snood. The top of the island floated up and the coral was also seen. It was given the name Tonga. The many gods who had been gathered on the land fished up by Maui Potiki looked around. They looked, it was a strange world. The gods hastened away.

Maui Potiki baited his hook again, let it down, let out the line (till) it was deep, fished up more of his islands. Many are his islands he fished up: the distant islands, the Yiva group, the Yayake group, and the Manihiki group, and the Rakahanga group, and the Samoan group, and the Tokelau

539 ma te atu Laulau, ma te atu Vayitupu, ma te atu Lalo. Oti ake te yi ana wenua ia, maunu ake i tana kau, tuku ake ki lalo, tukutuku ake i tana kawa, tu ki lalo. Wakamatala loa tana watu, matala. Kai loa tana mango tongi. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki, tupe loa i tana mango ia. Kakole i ana ki lua ona taina, "Ewea oki taku mea nei?" Kakole lua ona taina ia, "E wenua." Kakole i a Maui Potiki, "E kole, koi ai. Ewea taku mea nei?" Tupe loa i a Maui Potiki, pau te kawa lunga, pau ma te kawa loti, tali pau ma te kawa lalo. Mea loa i a Maui Potiki, "Onoonowiake." Kakalo atu la latou, koa wakalava te tawi tonga mango i te katea o te vaka. Mea oki i a Maui Potiki, "Tangowia mai te tao. Onoono kolua wakalelei. Tenei au ka wakatu i te ulu ki lunga nei. Yoka loa koe, e Maui Mua, i te kapakapa. Tango koe e Maui Loto i te tala." Wakatu mai loa i a Maui Potiki i te ulu o te mango ki lunga. Kakalo loa i a Maui Mua ko te kapakapa, yoka loa makeke. Tango loa i a Maui Loto i te tala o te mango, makeke. Liko loa i a Maui Potiki i te yiku o te mango, tili loa ki te langi nei. Yemu ake i tana matai, maka loa ki lunga o te langi. E nei, e lai te mango e wakalava i te langi nei, ma te kau na yiai, ma te tao na yokai. Pau ai loa te tala ia.

group, and the Laulau group, and the Vaitupu group, and the Western group. Finished with the fishing of his islands, he baited his fishhook, let it down, let out more and more (till) it was way down. He loosened his sinker stone (till) loose. His huge shark bit. Maui Potiki pulled in, drew in his shark. He asked his two brothers, "What have I here?" They answered, "An island." Maui Potiki said, "No, you don't say! What have I here?" Maui Potiki pulled in, finished the top line, finished also the middle section of the line, nearly all of the lower line. Maui Potiki said, "Look here." They looked there, there was at the side an enormous shark (*tawi tonga mango*) on the starboard side of the canoe. Maui Potiki said also, "Take hold of the spear for me. Be careful. I am going to get the head up above here. You, oh Maui Mua, you spear it in its fins. You Maui Loto, seize its flukes." Maui Potiki got the head of the shark to stand upright. Maui Mua looked at the fins, speared it, tightly. Maui Loto grasped the flukes of the shark (it was) tight. Maui Potiki took hold of the tail of the shark, threw it up to the sky here. He cut off the singer line, threw it on to the sky. Thus at the present time there are the shark lying on the side of the sky here, the fishhook with which it was fished, and the spear with which it was speared. The story is finished.

539 The Pukapukan story of the testing of Maui Potiki by the
773 gods is a fragment apparently not well known elsewhere.

The gods became tired of Maui's perpetual boasting after he had fished up Tonga and decided to show him that he was not so smart as he thought himself. The gods tested Maui first with string figures, making in turn a series of string figures which Maui was asked to name. Maui was successful in naming all the figures that the gods could make. Then a god held up two pieces of inter-connected coconut leaflet and asked Maui to disconnect the pieces without tearing. (1) Maui searched his brain for the answer to the puzzle. He could not solve it. He drew the attention of the god to a bird flying high in the sky and as the god looked Maui quickly tore the puzzle apart and then, hiding the torn ends in his hand, held up the two pieces of leaflet as if he had won the test. But the god was not deceived. When he insisted that Maui open wide his hands it was evident that the puzzle was indeed torn apart, not solved, by Maui.

Then in turn, Maui counted all the coral stones, all the stars in the sky, all the strands of hair on the heads of the gods, all the trees in the land, all the fish in the sea and many other things. Finally the gods asked Maui to count all the waves in the sea. Maui counted and counted, but the waves never ceased rolling towards him. Maui was nonplussed. The waves simply kept on increasing. Maui was made dizzy by his efforts at counting and in the end had to admit that this was the thing he was quite unable to do.

Naming of the Stars and Fishes

Maui was the one who first named all the fishes as the gods sent them one by one up to the reef where Maui stood. After Maui's time some of his fish names were forgotten, some were misused, and certain gods took the liberty of renaming others with their own names. There was much confusion in Pukapuka, the more so because Maui's names were taken from the language of the gods and were thus not easily remembered by the people. A man by the name of Walemate decided to name the fish and those stars intimately connected with the habits of fish.

1. This coconut leaflet puzzle that Maui could not solve is described in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole pp. 212-213, category 116--analyst].

539 Walemate was a wise man with learning like that of Maui.
773 He named all the fish, one by one, the fish of the sea, the fish of the lagoon. When he had used up all his names, one fish remained over. The gods asked its name, and Walemate named it "The fish of Walemate", thus establishing his fame for all times. His fish names have been known to the many generations of Pukapukans from the early times reaching down to the present day. Walemate also pointed out the many constellations of the sky, Mataliki and Tolu, Te Toloa and Te Manu, Melemele and Tokiva, and the many other stars that are watched now to determine when the fish are with roe. (2) Walemate also distinguished the hard-blowing winds, the easterly winds, the changing winds that bring the flying fish to the reef after the morning rising of the Pleiades.

The Yina Cycle

Three stories are known of the woman or goddess Yina. One tells the way in which the fish received their distinctive colorations and markings. The other two stories are fragments of a bigger cycle and bear out the contention of informants' that many stories about Yina have been forgotten today.

Yina was a woman of Pukapuka. In her time all the fish were pure white, there were none black, blue, red or multi-colored. One day when she was menstruating, Yina stood on the seaward side of the reef. She called the fish to her by rubbing together the backs of two Tridacna shells to make a grating noise and then throwing the two shells to the sea bottom. The fish answered the call thinking Yina had food for them. The lengi fish came first. Yina grasped it with her hands. The fish squirmed and wriggled to escape, but before it got away from her hands it had received two longitudinal scratches from her finger nails, a red mark on one side of its body, a green mark on the other. The bonito was similarly scratched with a dark stripe. The malau and the lali fish were both stained red with the blood that came from their anal openings after Yina had inserted into and withdrawn her hand from this opening. The wangamoana fish was stained bright red from swimming through the waters onto which Yina's menstrual blood dripped. One hungry fish, the taotaoama, tried to

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2. Identification of these star names is given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 349-351, category 116--analyst].

539 swallow Yina's coconut husk menstrual pad which had fallen
773 into the water, but the pad lodged in the throat and gills of this fish and has stayed there to this day. Thus when a *taotaoama* fish is caught one finds in its throat a sort of fungoid growth called *te pulu o Yina* (husk fibers of Yina), a remembrance of the hunger of the ancestor of the *taotaoma* fish. All the other fish of the sea, the *manini*, the *tawa*, the *ngatau*, the *tiwitiwi* and many others were striped in different ways by the scratching fingers of Yina. Yina tore in two the tail of the whale and this has remained splayed to this day.

At this time also all fish had small stones in their heads instead of brains. From each fish Yina removed the stone and inserted in its place some grey clam flesh. This gave the fish more understanding, making it easier for them to understand Pukapukan fishing calls and thus more ready to come to the fisherman when he needed them for food.

The second story of the goddess simply states that she made a visit to the moon though how she got there or what the pur-
[821] pose of her visit, no one knows. But today if one looks at the moon, one may see in it a picture of Yina. She is kneeling before a hearth stone on which she holds a Pandanus fruit key. In her uplifted hand she holds a striking stone with which she is about to crush the key and extract therefrom its kernel. Now when adults and children crack open a Pandanus key they think of Yina mirrored in the moon showing them how to do it.

The third story tells how Yina went for a ride on the back of a turtle. She took for her lunch some coconuts. The turtle took her to visit many lands. Yina became hungry and cast about for a way to open a nut. She decided to hammer it open on the head of the turtle, though the turtle had previously warned her against this. When the nut was hammered on its head, the turtle became angry. It sounded and said that in the future, whenever it saw human beings, it would always sound and in this way avoid them. Yina jumped off its back and swam back to Pukapuka. The turtle before this had always been a surface living animal, but for the cruelty of Yina it would remain so today. Now that the turtle has learned to sound it is much more difficult to catch and dangerous also, because it may drag down and drown a man whom it has caught with its flippers before sounding.

Lingutaimoa and her pet fish

The story of Lingutaimoa tells indirectly how eclipses of the sun and moon occur.

Lingutaimoa was a woman of Loto. When the *manini tauila* (seasonal *manini* fish) came to Pukapuka, she happened to catch

539 773 one alive and she decided to keep it as a pet. She put the manini in a coconut shell, filled the shell with fresh salt water every day, and fed the fish. She taught the manini to answer to a chanted call whenever she had food for it. Soon the manini grew too big for the shell, so she transferred it to a bowl. The manini grew still bigger, so she transferred it to a big hole that she dug near the beach. The manini grew bigger, and the hole became too small. Thereupon she carried the fish to a pool in the coral of the reef. The manini grew more, so she carried it to the lagoon itself, and when the fish grew too big for the lagoon, she finally took it to the ocean. Every day she went to feed the fish, and she called it with the following incantation:

Manini, manini, tipatipa mai tai. (3)	Manini, manini, turn on your side from the sea.
Tai yau tu, yau ta, wakayongi tai kia manini.	Come in, go back (she) smells (greets) the manini.
Taketakea kia manini.	(She) pats the manini.

Lingutaimoa fed the manini for many months. One day, however, the people of the heaven called Te tea-no-te-langi (Fair-people-of-the-sky), looked down to earth and saw this manini. They thought it was fat and eatable. So, while the woman was out getting food, they baited a hook and dropped it down from the sky and hauled up the fish.

The old lady came along the reef chanting her call, to feed her fish at the usual hour. The fish did not appear. She called a second time, but no fish appeared. She chanted a third time, but still no fish. She walked up and down the reef chanting and searching, but there was no sign of the fish. Then she made a vow that she would never cease her efforts until she revenged the death of her pet fish. Next morning she went to the reef and called up a wave to come to her. This was her call:

Te ngalu tua, te ngalu alo	The ocean wave, the lagoon wave
E ngalu tu ai te nuanua, e ngalu taia a Maui.	A wave standing to the rainbow, a wave sent by Maui.

The first wave that came to her was not good enough. The second was bad also, but the third wave was a good one, so

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3. The manini is a big fish and hence must turn on its side if it is to swim inshore and be fed in shallow water.

539 she embarked on it and was quickly taken to the horizon. When
773 she got there, she clung to the horizon as the wave went past,
[821] and easily clambered up to the sky. In the sky she went round inquiring as to her manini. People said the Fair-people must have killed it. Coming to their land in the sky she found traces of blood which she knew to be manini blood. It was this blood that got smeared over the sun and the moon when the manini was killed, and which causes to this day eclipses of the sun and of the moon. Then she came to the Fair-people and found bones of her manini. She met the chief's assistant of the Fair-people, and he admitted that he had received the cheek bone of the manini. So she killed him. Then she went on and found the chief of the Fair-people. He said he had been given the gills and stomach of the fish as was his chiefly share. So she killed him too. And she killed all the people who had eaten of her fish. This finished, her revenge was complete. She went to the horizon and called up another wave to take her back to Pukapuka.

The following chant refers to this story of Lingutaimoa:

Na ai te pu e tangi nei? (4) na te tukipo, te tuki yami,	Whose the trumpet sounding? Of the warning cry, the cry for coconut food,
Yuyu mata tiloia e Lingutaimoa, koa lili vaka, koa ita vaka i tana manini	Wet eye straight gazing of Lingutaimoa, full of anger(she), anger for her manini
Koia yele to kei te tai, to kele, kele, kele,	Noosed, dropped to the sea, dropped struggling
Tiale ti, tiale ta, tiale kaina e te Tea	Flower picked, flower killed, flower eaten by the Tea people.

[173] The reference to the Fair-people-of-the-sky is the only one in Pukapukan traditions or stories to such people. Informants could give no details about them other than what is known from this story. It is likely, however, that the reference represents a memory in tradition of the fair skinned, chestnut-haired people one of the racial strains that is reported in the population of other islands of Polynesia.

4. The reference is to the Yayake warning cry in the traditional account of the killing of the Yayake people on Motu Ko. [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 380, category 116--analyst].

Voyage of Lata

538 The story of Lingutaimoa completes the Pukapukan myths that account for natural phenomena. The next story is the Pukapukan version of the tale of Lata. The action of the story takes place in Samoa, on the high seas, and in Witi (Fiji), but it is none the less an authentic Pukapukan tale,very popular story, both narrator and auditors became convulsed with laughter as the narrative proceeded.

539 Lata was a man of Yamoa (Samoa) who went to the forest one day hunting for a big log suitable for a canoe. He took his adz with him and went from one tree to the next. At last he came to a certain tree, straight and clean, with few small branches, just the right tree for a canoe. But the whole forest was the property of a man named Yinata and unbeknown to Lata this tree was the favorite shading place of Yinata. Here he was wont to repair in the heat of the day to cool himself under its shady branches, and here he went too, when he wished for a special protection from the heavy rains.

Lata chopped down the tree and it fell with a mighty crash. He cut off the crown of the tree, skinned off the bark and began the task of hollowing out the tree for his canoe. Lata and Yinata were both men of magic powers (*tangata manamana*), hence the speed at which Lata could work.

While the work was in progress, along came Yinata thinking to sleep a while in the shade. He saw what Lata had done to his special tree and he was angry. The two men argued, Lata saying he had chopped down the tree in ignorance, Yinata charging him with willful theft. At last the two fell to violence and began to wrestle. The first time Lata pushed Yinata down. Again they wrestled, and this time Yinata threw Lata. They went on wrestling with equal fortune, until both were exhausted, when they desisted. Yinata then summoned up his strength and began to chant an incantation (*talotalo*), which immediately brought together all the leaves, chips, bark, branches, made them stick together and lo, the tree was a growing thing again. This is the incantation:

Mei a pikitau welele ona malamala!	Come a perfect join, run together the woodchips!
Mei a pikitau welele ona kili!	Come a perfect join, run together the bark!
Mei a pikitau welele ona la!	Come a perfect join, run together the branches!
Mei a pikitau welele ona lau!	Come a perfect join, run together the leaves.

539 As the tree grew up as before Yinata's heart was glad, because he now had his favorite shelter again. Lata was glad too, because through his power he had put another trunk inside the bark as the tree grew together, and so he now had his canoe log also. So Lata worked and worked away at his canoe, hollowing out the underbody, fitting it with stern and bow covers and washstrakes. He cut his outrigger, lashed it on the crossbooms. The front wave guard on his bow cover was so high and flat it was like the platform in a storehouse. He made sail and sheets and fitted another tree trunk for a mast. When everything was complete and the canoe well and truly made, Lata went round the islands of Yamoa looking for the best men for his crew.

He chose the men who had power to withstand the strength of his hand. As each likely man came to him, Lata grasped him by the neck with his hands and attempted to bend his head forward. If the man could stand the pull and his neck remained stiff and upright, then Lata was satisfied. If his head bent forward, then this showed he was a weakling and Lata discarded him. After a time, this selection was completed. The crew carried the canoe to the water and launched it. They took their places in the canoe and these are the names of the canoe members:

Lata; captain and owner

Tupua-ulu-watu (Head-of-stone)

Tupua-lulu-lapa (Flat-head), (Broad-head)

Tupua-kaia (Thief)

Tupua-keli-ana (Hole-digger)

Tupua-manatu (Thinker)

Matai-monomono (Caulking-wedge)

Mata-pili-kawa (Expert-sennit-maker)

Wakapeyi (Defecator)

Wakapalalu (Defecator)

Pate-momono (Caulk remover)

Matai-waowao (Jumper)

Before the canoe set sail, Lata talked to his crew and told them that he expected them to help him and themselves should the canoe get into any dangerous situations. All the men agreed to do their best, so with high hopes the canoe set off to voyage abroad, Lata saying he wanted to see the world and all the crew expressing pleasure at the idea. The canoe soon left Samoa behind and held a course for Witi. It was not long, however, before they met with heavy squalls, high seas, wind and rain, the sky so black and cloudy that they could see no sign of abatement and the outlook was dangerous. Lata turned to his crew and said, "Whose turn is it to help us by keeping away the wind and rain?" Tupua-ulu-lapa volunteered to try. So he made his flat head grow bigger and bigger until it grew

539 to be a coconut-leaf mat big enough to cover the whole canoe and shelter the canoe and water round it from the wind. The seas grew calm and the canoe sailed on safely, even though the seas of Witi are dangerous, the rains pour down in huge drops and the winds blow like hurricanes.

On and on the canoe sailed, but before reaching Witi, Lata saw two huge man-eating fish called palao. The crew were all afraid of these fish thinking they would surely be eaten up. But Lata called out, "Who will deal with these fish?" Wakapeyi and Wakapalalu volunteered, and Lata told them to go to work. Both these men balanced on the gunwales of the canoe with their fundaments under the sea and began to discharge feces. They continued to do this until the ocean was full of feces. The two fish swallowed and swallowed up the feces and in the end were so stuffed that they could not move, but floated away on the current with distended bellies.

The canoe sailed on and on until at last it came to the channel of Witi. There was a gigantic rock blocking up the entrance to the channel and no room was left for the canoe to enter. So Lata called to his crew, "Who will rid us of this rock?" Then Tupua-ulu-watu said, "It is my turn, I will do this task." He dived into the sea and swam under water to the rock which he began to hit with his head. He went on doing this until at last the rock shivered to pieces under the continued battering, and the canoe was able to sail into the channel.

The channel was a big one and as the canoes sailed up to the beach, Lata described a gigantic Tridacna shell fish rising up from the sea bottom. Its shells were wide open, and it was very likely to swallow up and destroy the canoe. The crew called out to Lata in alarm, saying that now surely their last hour was come. But Lata replied, "No, this is my turn, I will deal with this clam." He grasped his cutting stick firmly in one hand, and dived into the water. He entered the clam shell which closed about him. The crew saw this and cried out that Lata had surely perished and they too would soon suffer a like fate. All the time however, Lata was busy cutting away the roots of the clam flesh with his wooden knife. Soon the crew saw a cloud of inky black stuff coming out from the closed shell, and they plucked up hope again, saying Lata is safe after all. A moment later the shell opened out and Lata emerged, swimming to the surface with the flesh in his hands.
[522]There was a great amount of flesh, so Lata thought to divide it up among all the islands of the Pacific, that the people of these islands might share in the feast. He cut the flesh into pieces and gave one piece to each island group in the Pacific,

539 one to Niue, one to Manihiki, to the Tokelaus, to Samoa, to
522 Ellice, to Gilberts, to Hawaii, to New Zealand, and so forth. In the end he thought that every island had been given a share as the flesh was finished. His crew suddenly cried out, "Oh Lata, you have forgotten one island." Lata replied by asking the forgotten name. The crew told him, "The island of Pukapuka." "Well," replied Lata,"all the shares have been given out, and there is none left for Pukapuka." But he bethought himself and dived into the sea again, cut out the root of the clam and coming to the surface called out, "Here is the share of Pukapuka." [Note the great joke involved. The root of the clam is inedible and useless for any purpose, hence Pukapuka received useless matter while the other islands shared in the juicy flesh.]

539 This task accomplished, the canoe was beached and the crew landed on the shore of Witi. The people of Witi had seen the canoe from afar however, and suspected they might be strangers up to mischief so they had built a strong stockade (*pa*) to house them when they landed. Hence Lata's crew were immediately marched to their stockade and safely secured as prisoners inside it. The plan of the people of Witi was to give the crew plenty of food and fatten them up so that they would be good eating when the time came to kill them. It was necessary, however, for the people of Witi to have some excuse for killing the group of innocent strangers who had committed no fault so far. It was decided to have a contest at getting crabs, one contestant from Lata's crew, and one contestant from Witi. The Witi people thought that their champion would easily win and this would allow them to put to death the defeated side.

The Witi champion (*toa*) was very skilled at digging up crabs. His name was Tupua-keli-tupa (Tupa-crab-digger). When the name of the champion was announced to Lata he turned to his crew and said, "Whose turn is it to save us now?" Tupua-kaia volunteered to do his best, so he was presented as the champion of Lata. The two champions went off to the bush to dig up crabs. The Witi expert set to work and quickly filled three baskets while Tupua-kaia had hardly time to fill one. The time passed quickly, the afternoon sun turned to disappear below the ocean, and as the men were in a far off place, Tupua-kaia proposed that the two should sleep in the bush for the night, returning to the settlement on the morrow. The Witi champion agreed to this since he was tired from much digging and needed a rest badly. The Witi champion had three baskets filled with crabs. Tupua-kaia had only one basket

539 filled with crabs, but he filled his remaining two with stones, coconut husks, and leaves, and covered the tops with crabs so that it appeared as if he too had three full baskets. Both men hung up their baskets from a branch of a tree, side by side. Then as it was late and dark in the bush they lay down to sleep, about 30 feet apart. Tupua-kaia began to tell stories about his wanderings and adventures as a member of Lata's crew, and as the Witi champion listened he became drowsy and sleepy. Every little while Tupua-kaia would stop in his story and call out, "Are you asleep?" The other would answer, "No, why do you ask?" And Tupua-kaia would reply, "I ask just to see whether I should continue telling my story to you." After a time the answers of the Witi man became more and more incoherent and his voice was full of sleep. At last there was no answer when Tupua-kaia asked his question. Tupua-kaia called softly many times, but still there was no reply. He got up, opened the plaiting at the bottom of the Witi man's basket and let all the crabs fall out into his own basket which he held underneath. He did the same for the next basket, making however a different sort of hole, so that it would appear in the morning as if the crabs had eaten their way through the plaiting and had escaped of their own accord. This finished, with Tupua-kaia's baskets full of crabs, he went and lay down again, pretending to fall into a deep sleep. The Witi man awoke first, Tupua-kaia still simulating deep sleep. The Witi man called out, "The sun rises, it is time for us to be up and going." Tupua-kaia did not stir. Again the Witi man called out, but Tupua-kaia did not stir. A third time the Witi man called and Tupua-kaia pretended to wake with a great start, asking what was the cause of the great noise. The reason was explained to him. He got up quickly, went off to get his carrying pole, loaded his baskets on the pole and called to the Witi man that he was ready to start back to the beach. But when the Witi man went to his baskets he found two of them very light in weight. Thinking something was wrong he opened the top and found that they were empty, the bottoms of the baskets being torn as if by the claws of the crabs. He called out in alarm, "My crabs have all escaped. Wait for me while I go and dig some more." But Tupua-kaia replied, "No, we cannot wait, all the people of Witi are waiting on the beach for us that they may count our crabs. We cannot be late." "But," called the Witi man, "if we go back now, I will be beaten on the count, and I will surely be eaten for being the loser in this contest." Tupua-kaia remained adamant however that both must return at once, so they set off, the

539 Witi man imploring all the time that Tupua-Kaia should wait for a time, but Tupua-kaia remained inflexible. At last they came to the place where the Witi people were gathered. Then the official counters came forward, took the baskets and counted the crabs they contained. The count showed that Tupua-kaia had collected 100 more crabs than the Witi man, so he was declared the winner of the contest, and the Witi chief ordered his champion to be killed and eaten. Nevertheless, all of Lata's men were put back inside the stockade and the Witi men went off to gather firewood and oven stones to cook the Witi man. This was done and Lata saw him killed, cooked and eaten by the Witi gathering. Thus Lata and his crew were saved once more by the cunning of his well chosen crew.

Again, however, the Witi men decided to arrange another contest, hoping to beat the crew of Lata. This time the contest was braiding sennit (*kawa*). The name of the Witi expert was Lua-kawa. The chosen member of Lata's crew was Mata-pili-kawa. The two champions went to the meeting place, all the materials were brought to them, and the two began to roll and braid. While the Witi man was making up strands and rolling them into lengths, Mata-pili-kawa was in no hurry but worked along steadily. Then Lua-kawa went off to find some more materials, but Mata-pili-kawa continued to work steadily as before, and in the end won the contest, not by trickery, but by great skill.

The Witi men now found that the crew of Lata were too smart to be killed through the medium of a contest, so they decided to kill and eat them without any excuse whatsoever. Plenty of food was brought to the stockade and Lata's crew grew fat and sleek feeding on the good things provided by the Witi people. The chief of Witi sent a messenger to the stockade to find out whether the prisoners were fat enough to be good eating. This messenger came back and said to wait a while longer. Then later the chief sent a second messenger who reported that the men were fat and good eating. The chief therefore ordered his men to gather together the firewood and stones near the stockade, because on the morrow he planned to kill and eat the crew. Lata heard these orders so he asked his crew, "Whose turn is it now to save us from the Witi men?" Tupua-kele-ana called out and said he would save the crew. He began to dig in the middle of the stockade. He dug and dug until he had made a hole under its walls which at last reached the beach where Lata's canoe lay. Tupua-keli-ana returned to Lata and reported that a way of escape lay open. In the middle of the night the crew prepared to escape

539 from the stockade. As they were about to leave, Tupua-manatu suggested to Lata that Wakapeyi and Wakapalalu should be asked to discharge and fill up the inside of the stockade with feces. Lata thought this a good idea and it was done by the two men at his command before they crawled away from the stockade. All the men escaped safely and came to the beach. Here they found that the Witi's men had removed all the caulking from Lata's canoe. Matai-monomono was at hand so he came forward and recaulked Lata's canoe. Then the canoe was launched, all the crew embarked and prepared to sail away. The canoe was already some distance from the beach when Tupua-manatu thought, "The Witi canoes are fast sailing canoes; if they follow us they will overtake us again and we will once more be prisoners." He spoke thus to Lata, who was frightened until Tupua-manatu suggested that the canoe put back to the beach and a hole be made in each Witi canoe such that none would be seaworthy enough to follow Lata's canoe. Lata agreed to this. When they came near the beach, Pata-monono went ashore. He went from one Witi canoe to the next punching out the caulking of each. This completed he went back to the canoe and Lata pushed off again. They were not far from the shore when Tupua-manatu had another idea. He asked Lata, "What about the bailers in the Witi canoes? If these are not broken to pieces, the canoes are still able to follow us and follow us they will until they take us prisoners. I think the bailers should be broken to pieces." Lata agreed this was a good idea, so he turned the canoe shoreward once more. When it was near the beach, the Witi people still sleeping soundly, Matai-waowao jumped ashore and went to the Witi canoes. These were built very high above the ground, but Matai-waowao being a good jumper, was easily able to leap over the sides of each canoe, where he quietly smashed the bailers to pieces. This finished, he returned to the canoe again and Lata pushed off.

At daybreak the chief sent his men to bring Lata and his crew to the ovens. The Witi men to the stockade, but on opening the gates out rushed a flood of stinking feces which drove them away helter-skelter. Other men rushed to the beach. From here they saw Lata's canoe standing by outside the entrance to the harbor. They ran their own canoes down to the water, thinking easily to overtake Lata. But on being lifted into the water the canoes immediately began to fill up, and when they looked for the bailers they found nothing but crushed wood. The canoes sank to the bottom near the shore and as the Witi men danced with rage and fury on the beach, Lata waved a farewell, hoisted his sail and stood out to sea with a fair wind.

539 He sailed away and visited other lands, but of his further adventures in these countries, the people of Pukapuka have no story.

Stories about Gods

538
773 A large number of Pukapukan tales concern the activities of gods, more especially in their relations to human beings. A few stories of this class, however, refer to the interrelations of the gods themselves. Mention has already been made of the fighting between Te Awuawu, Ngaliyeyeu, Te Alangaoa and Te Atua Vaelua, the four gods who cause the winds and of the manner in which these four drew the god Kanitika from the sun because he was making the days too hot [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 311-312, category 776 or 116--analyst.] A third story which tells of a series of contests between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, follows:

Of Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu

539 Te Awuawu was a god of the island of Wakalava and Ngaliyeyeu was a god from Tonga. The two gods set out from their home lands to enjoy a series of shoulder pushing contests (lukipoko) with the gods of the other island groups of Yiva, Yayake, Motulau and Samoa. The two gods met in Pukapuka and pushed against each other to determine superiority. In the first contest honors were even, but in the second Te Awuawu was pushed over. The two gods became firm friends and then decided on a competition to determine who could cohabit with the greatest number of Pukapukan women. Under cover of night they crawled into the houses cohabiting with many girls before the night became light. Thus they continued until the twentieth night when they met to consider the results of their night prowling. Ngaliyeyeu retired from the contest and Te Awuawu said he was tired of the sport. When each counted the women he had enjoyed (literally, counted his fishhooks), Te Awuawu was well ahead.

There was one difficult woman, Mulitauyakana, whom Ngaliyeyeu desired. One day she went to the back of the island to defecate. While squatting she looked up to see a bird scratching and pecking at her kilt which she had left on the sand. Mulitauyakana ran to drive away the bird, but the bird seized her and then transformed itself into Ngaliyeyeu. The two cohabited but Ngaliyeyeu was dissatisfied with his conquest. He expressed his disappointment; "So this is the stubborn woman I have desired so greatly! She is a horrible woman not worth the trouble of desire."

[A variant of this story relates that the bird was really an

539 incarnated attendant spirit (tikitiki) owned by Te Awuawu but lent by him to Ngaliyeyeu when it became obvious that Ngaliyeyeu could not otherwise seduce Mulitauyakana. The bird pecked at the front of Mulitauyakana's kilt as she bathed. She rushed from the water to drive away the bird. Her kilt fell down and she could not but submit to Ngaliyeyeu after he had seen her nakedness.] (5)

The two gods held a final contest, that of bird netting, in which they were joined by a third god, Te Aliki-tu. The three netted birds all night long and counted their catch at dawn. Te Awuawu had the greatest number of birds, but his success was due to the fact that he controlled a flock of tame birds that flew into his net whenever he cried to them. This was the last contest between the two gods.

Of Milimili

538 Folktales concerning the relations of gods to humans tell of the manner in which a god is able to favor one of his worshippers; to save him from punishment for breaking a tapu, to assist him in economic activities, or to bring his soul back from the Underworld and place it again in the human body. In the following tale, Tangata-no-te-moana who was the god of the sea, had a fish form, hence the reference to his pushing over a house with his tail.

539 Milimili was a man, Makaia his wife. Milimili became sick and died. While the members of his maternal lineage wept for him at his wake, Makaia wandered desolate for three days along the outer beaches crying to two gods of her lineage, Te Pakitua and Te Pakialo, that they might throw back to her

[831] [762] [834] 5. For the Pukapukan women, as for the women of some other Polynesian groups, resistance to desired or undesired, to expected or unexpected, male aggression vanishes at once if the aggressor sees her exposed genitals. Shame felt at this nakedness seems to produce a feeling that all is lost and that nothing can be done further to ward off the aggressive male. Under other circumstances a woman's forced exposure of the genitals may produce such shame that suicide is the only way of preserving self-respect. The story of Te Anga (pp. 57-58) illustrates this point very clearly for Pukapuka. Similarly in the story of Wawine-mata, a woman may triumph over, and shame her opponent if the latter inadvertently exposes her genitals.

539 the spirit of her husband. The two gods pitied her and sought the aid of Tangata-no-te-moana. This god in turn enlisted the aid of Tulikalo, musician god of the Underworld. (6) Tulikalo agreed to beat hard at his wooden gongs "so that the land is lost, so that the house of Leva in the Underworld stands on one side." The spirit of Milimili had arrived as far as the house of Leva and was about to become incorporated in the plaiting elements of the mat that Leva was making when Tulikalo began whistling and beating his gongs furiously. The vibrations in the air shook the door of Leva's house, then the house itself began to sway. Tangata-no-te-moana struck the house with his tail. The house toppled over and the god snatched the spirit of Milimili from the plaiting and threw it back to the world above. The weepers for Milimili looked at his body. It was slowly coloring. Milimili sat up and sang the chant of the gods. He lived and his wife was happy.

Of Pakai

The story of Pakai tells of a Yato man who broke the tapu and stole food from the reserve island of Motu Ko.

Pakai was a priest who served Te Maungatu, god of Yamaunaa lineage. He went secretly to Motu Ko and at the place called Tua-welo, broke the tapus imposed by his god. The gods guarding the reserve were angry and they surrounded Pakai, rushing on him to strike him dead. Pakai heard their ghostly speech as one called to the other, "get ready your leaflet food platter and your fish-jaw knife." Pakai became frightened because he was surrounded on all sides and there was no place to run to. With the long bark streamer of his priestly headdress he addressed magic to his god and Te Laupapa elbowed an opening for him through the circle of angry gods. A second and a third time he was surrounded and again and again he was saved by the efforts of Te Laupapa. Finally he managed to escape from the island and ran along the reef back to Wale where he told the people gathered in the sacred worshipping house (wale atua) of his adventures.

Of Kutu

538 The story of Kutu and the gods is unclear as to motive. It

514
522 6. The Pukapukan conceptualization of the Underworld is given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, 327-328, category 116--analyst].

[538] is probable, however, that the woman Kutu lied to her husband
as to her reasons for going to the bush and the gods wished
514 to punish her for her false speech. She very neatly turned
522 the tables on the gods in a manner that the Pukapukan finds
539 exceedingly humorous. The story is very popular with adults
and children.

Kutu was a woman of Pukapuka. The gods made a wood bowl in which to place Kutu and carry her away. They went to her house but she saw them approach and climbed a tree, from which she refused to budge. At last she became frightened at the huge concourse of gods. Then she climbed down the tree, suspended herself from the lowermost branch and jumped inside the bowl which the gods raised up to her. The gods carried her off in procession chanting all the while,

Oh Kutu, Kutu is dying,
She spoke falsely in the bush,
She desired two penises,
She desired three penises,
Wet and dripping over.
Her fundament is hard and full.

As the gods proceeded on their way Kutu began to defecate inside the bowl. When the gods saw this they crowded around the bowl and so many were they that the pushing and jostling caused the bowl to fall to ghe ground. Those near by were immediately splashed with the feces. Those far away were not satisfied until they too were splashed by the contents of the bowl. Not a single god was left clean. Then all were happy.

Gods of the Sea

Stories of the gods Tipeva, Kanapu and Totoloa are based
539 on the Pukapukan idea that it is these gods who control the
[825] movements of deep sea fish. These fish are believed to be the
sweethearts of the gods are are thought to carry to their
masters all the pearl-shell fishhooks that they bite from the
lines of the fishermen.

Tipeva and Kanapu were two gods of the sea. Their sweethearts (*ipo*) were the *kakai* and other large fish [the narrator mentions the names of nine of these.] When the men went fishing, they prayed to these gods to allow their fish sweethearts to be caught. When the fishhooks as broken from the line, it was taken to Tipeva and by him fastened in the thatch of his house. Tipeva had an avekula fish as his favored mistress and the two would place their sleeping mats on the rocks of the

539 reef or on the rocks of the ocean bottom. One day Tipeva's fish went to the sea of Langilili and died there. Tipeva was so sorrowful without his sweetheart that he closed the door of his house forever.

Of Te Malo and Totoloa

[538] In the following story telling of the visit of a Pukapukan
[226] man named Te Malo to the house of Totoloa under the sea,
incidents relating to the killing of the ogre Yelekoua are not
obviously related to the main tale but probably concern
another story of Te Malo, part of which has been forgotten
[226] today. The use of chewed mature coconut flesh spit out on
the surface of the water to calm the ripples and render it
possible to see fish biting at the hook, is a common Pukapukan
fisherman's trick to this day.

Te Malo had two children. They went to the sea to fish bonito. They fished. They succeeded in catching some bonito. The group paddled inside the school of bonito. The (fish) sweetheart of Te Totoloa bit. It broke off the fishhook of Te Malo. Te Malo turned to the back of the canoe, looked out, (saw) his fishhook was broken. "Broken is my favorite *uyoloto* (hook cut from the middle of the shell)." Te Malo said to both his children, "Spit out so that (the water) is clear, spit with chewed coconut." Te Malo looked below, "Oh, my fishhook is lost." Te Malo had thought that maybe the fishhook was falling down; he looked down into the water, (saw) nothing. Te Malo said to his two children, " I am going to dive down under the ocean, I am going to look for my fishhook which has broken. You two spit out; watch my diving to the bottom of the sea. You two wait up here, till I come up again." Te Malo bid farewell to his two children. Finished bidding farewell, Te Malo dived. He dived, dived, dived, dived, e--e--e--arrived at the house of Totoloa (*sic*). Te Malo was a person with magical power, his god sent him straight to the house of Totoloa. Totoloa asked Te Malo, "What have you come for?" Te Malo answered, "I have come to search for my fishhook which was cut off by a fish. Is there nothing that your red-eyed sweethearts have brought here?" Totoloa answered, "I don't know. You come look on the roof of my house at the fishhooks brought back to my red-eyed sweethearts."

In his house, the one side of the roof was a dry roof; the other side of the roof was wet; that was where the red-eyed sweethearts gathered. In the dry side Totoloa stayed, and fastened the fishhooks brought by his red-eyed sweethearts.

539 Finished. Te Malo searched inside, Te Malo looked at the roof of the house. He looked, indeed the roof of the house was crowded with fishhooks. Te Malo searched for his fishhook which had broken. He searched, searched there, finally saw it. Te Malo said to Te Totoloa, "Here is certainly my fishhook which broke off." Te Totoloa answered him, "Where?" Te Malo said, "Where?" Te Totoloa said to him, "You take it." "Yes, I shall take my fishhook." Te Totoloa said, "Pull it out." Te Totoloa also said to Te Malo, "If you take that fishhook, my sweethearts here might grow angry." Te Malo answered, "If they get angry at you, you just hug them up." Te Totoloa gave it to Te Malo. Te Malo prepared to come back.

Totoloa watched. The two of them spoke, e--e--e--it was a long time. Te Malo said, "I shall go now, don't you think? I guess my two children are waiting for me," Totoloa said to Te Malo, "Whi! I suppose your journey is far, that's no good. You climb up to the single hanging coconut of my tree there." Te Malo arose, climbed to the coconut, hit down the single nut of Te Totoloa. He climbed down. Te Totoloa said to him, "Husk it (then), you drink the water, you eat the flesh, so that you are satisfied. I guess your journey is far." Te Totoloa said to Te Malo, "When you are through eating, you take hold of the two halves of the nut, you fold the husks over the shell, you throw it up onto the tree, so that it sticks again on the spikes." Te Malo did this to the two halves, stuck the husks on top of the shell, threw it onto the tree. It stuck onto the single spike tightly. (7) Te Malo said to him, "I shall go now, don't you think? It's been long. I guess my two children are waiting for me, I suppose also they have cried, thinking me dead." Totoloa said to him, "Yes, you will go, won't you? Go then." Te Malo said goodnight to Totoloa. "Here I am going now. Sleep you well, won't you?"

Te Malo floated up to the surface, floated up, floated up, floated, straight for their canoe. He breathed on top, climbed into the canoe. His two children asked him, "Did you find your fishhook?" Te Malo said, "Where, here it is." "Where

[261] 7. Hence the Pukapukan saying applied to a person not satisfied with his share of coconuts, "Wano koe ki te niu a Te Totoloa" (Go to the coconut tree of Te Totoloa), the implication being that only on some such magical tree will the dissatisfied one find sufficient coconuts to content his desire.

539 was it?" Te Malo told them, "Where? Why in the house of Te Totoloa. The red-eyed sweethearts of Te Totoloa broke it off." The two children asked, "Are there many similar hooks there?" Te Malo said, "There indeed are the many hooks of the men."

They went ashore. They reached the shore. They told of the breaking of the fishhook of Te Malo. Te Malo went to wash his hook in fresh water. Te Malo was thirsty. He went to the well of Yelekoua. Te Malo asked Yelekoua, "Is there a pool of yours here?" He said to Te Malo, "What about my pool here? There are the gourds filled. Are you thirsty? Te Malo answered, "Yes." Yelekoua said, "Come then, there are the filled gourds." Te Malo went to him. Yelekoua said, "Sit there." Te Malo refused, "No, you move over." Yelekoua said, "Sit right there." Te Malo refused again, "You move over." Yelekoua refused because there was his adz hidden below the mat, inserted under his two thighs. Te Malo did it (sat there). Yelekoua would not (move). He sat on the place where were the two knees of Te Malo. Yelekoua handed over the gourd, Te Malo drank it dry. Te Malo also took the next gourd, drank it dry. The thirst of Te Malo was quenched. Te Malo said to Yelekoua, "You drink." Yelekoua took the gourd, drank, drank, drank, (the gourd) stood on top of the mouth(that is, was tipped way back). He removed also the next gourd. He drank also, drank, drank, drank, bent his neck to the back; Te Malo had tempted him in order to stupify the mind of Yelekoua. Yelekoua also removed the last gourd. This was the third gourd of Yelekoua. He drank, drank, while Te Malo watched. The neck bent right back. Te Malo pulled out the adz hidden below the mat. He seized it, slashed the throat of Yelekoua. Yelekoua died. Te Malo called out to the island, "Oh, the people, come to beat the shark who injured us.' The people came. They pounded Yelekoua, till he vanished. It is finished.

Of Te Ingoa

The story of Te Ingoa and the god Malangatiale is the last of this series. Te Ingoa and his father Te Moana were two of the survivors of Muliwutu lineage after the catastrophic tidal wave and this incident probably refers to a time when there was a sufficient body of old men to make an expedition to the reserve islet of Motu Ko to secure food for all the people.

The group of old men (*tupele*) made the journey along the eastern side of the reef to Motu Ko. When they reached the islet Te Ingoa left them and walked along the outer beach until he stood at the place called Tua-o-poutama. Te Ingoa looked up at the long line of birds flying to land from the distant sea.

539 These birds directed by his god Malangatiale flew straight to roost on the trees at the place where he stood. He called the old men to the place. They came with their nets and caught birds until they grew tired and their bones ached but still the birds came flying in from the sea to roost on the trees. When they had finished killing and had gathered the birds together, the canoes were full to sinking with their enormous loads. As the men paddled back to Wale they saw the line of birds circling back to sea, chased back to their perching grounds on ocean sandbanks by the god Malangatiale. The birds were divided among all the people and great was the fame of Malangatiale. To this day it is said when food is scarce, "If only the birds of Te Ingoa would come to us, then many would be the strange birds we could eat."

Animal Stories

The tropic bird's tail

The white-tailed tropic bird was perched on a coral rock in the lagoon. The many fish wished to pull out the long feathers from the bird's tail. The fish, one after the other, swam quietly up to the perching place, but each time the bird saw the intruder's approach and flew off, coming again to its perch when the discomfited fish returned to its fellows. Some fish changed their skin color to blend with the color of the sea, other fish hid behind coral growths, but the bird was always too wary to be caught. Finally the *wumoemoe* fish decided to try. It approached the tropic bird very carefully and whenever the bird looked its way the *wumoemoe* changed itself to the color of its background, first white like the coral, then black like *loli* coral, then speckled like another coral growth. The fish came close, reached right to the tail and before the tropic bird could fly away, the fish closed its teeth around the tail feathers. The bird squirmed loose, but when it rose into the air, it had left its tail feathers firmly gripped in the mouth of the *wumoemoe*. Thus the tail of the white-tailed tropic bird became short, and thus the bird today differs from the scarlet-tailed tropic bird which has a long tail.

The many fish rushed to the *wumoemoe* and pulled away the feathers from him. The *luluau* and *tiwitiwi* and other fish inserted some of the long feathers in their fins and these fish have long fins to this day. The *taotaoama* and other fish put the long feathers in their own tails and to this day these fish have very long tails. The *wumoemoe* made up this verse:

539 My trick was first to become dark,
Then to become light.
That is why the tropic bird
Lost forever its long tail.

Lord of the Sea

[538] The story of the ray and the swordfish relates the fight between the fish to determine which should be the ruler of the sea. In telling this story, the narrator inserted ejaculations "pu! . pu!" at appropriate points to indicate the sounds of a fierce struggle. Uttered in a piping tone of voice they represent a conventional method of indicating to listeners that a struggle is taking place between named contestants.

There was a dispute among the fish as to which were the strong and which were the weak. All the big fish of the sea divided themselves into pairs; the swordfish and the ray, the eel and the whale, the shark and the kingfish and so on. First the eel fought the whale. The eel was vanquished; its mouth was distorted by a blow of the whale's tale, and the whale's tail was splayed by a bite from the eel. Then the shark and the kingfish fought. When the shark rushed forward the kingfish jumped high into the air. Turning its head down and throwing its tail up it dived towards the shark swimming below. It bit a piece out of the shark's tail, an indentation that shows to this day. The shark was soon exhausted by the struggle and the kingfish exulted in its victory.

The ray and the swordfish quarreled next. The ray threw his two tails at the swordfish and made the swordfish angry with pain. Then as he rushed to spear the ray with his sword, the ray broke off the sword. The ray then retreated and hid himself under a rock. The swordfish sharpened his broken sword and sought everywhere for his opponent. He asked many fish of the sea where the ray was hiding but none could tell him. At last the papatataki fish showed the hiding place. As the ray slept peacefully under his rock the swordfish threw forward his head and rushed at the ray. His sword pierced the ray and tore him to pieces. The ray died and the swordfish cried, "Let all the fish hear! Those who would be stubborn and dispute my will, let them look at the fat of the ray!"

Octopus and Rat

[71]
[538] The legend of the canoe of all the animals is the Pukapukan version of the popular Polynesian story of the ingratitude of the rat to the octopus.

The various crabs, the many birds and the rat went fishing

539 one day in a canoe. After they had cast anchor a squall came up and sank their canoe. The birds flew to land, the crabs crawled back to land along the sea bottom. The rat alone drifted on the surface of the sea, swimming and calling for help. He cried to the passing whale to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the whale refused and pushed him under water. The rat floated again to the surface and called to the turtle to take him to the land of Tinilau, but the turtle likewise refused and pushed him under water. The swordfish did likewise.

At last the rat called to the octopus. The octopus had pity for the sad plight of the rat and allowed the rat to jump on his back. Then he swam with him to the land of Tinilau. As they reached the shore the rat defecated on the head of the octopus and then ran inland very far off. He called to the octopus to feel his head. The octopus then found that his head was covered with feces. He gave chase to the rat but the rat ran inside a Pandanus log and was safe.

The following popular verse from a chant is supposed to call to mind this story:

> Oh rat, crying "Ngi! ngi! "
> You crawl on the roof,
> You jump down to the end rafters.
> We listen and say, "That is the rat! "
> You are killed by the people
> And your gravestone is set up.

Folk Tales

538
171 Of the folk tales here grouped together, some are versions of widely spread Polynesian tales, others seem to be limited to Pukapuka. Two of the stories are concerned with the relations between humans and fish. Two have slight moralistic undertone; the tale of Tatamanu tells what happened to a man who is stingy and does not share food with his people; the tale of Laumeakula and his wife apparently has as its motive for the drowning of the parents, their sorrow at the ungenerous conduct of nine of their children toward the tenth child. Of the two remaining tales, one is a simple folk tale, the scene of which is elsewhere than Pukapuka, the other relates to a story about the giants of the legendary land of Tongaleleva.

Kaliwi and the winds

539 The tale of Kaliwi and the komuli fish is given first. No reason could be advanced by informants as to how the woman Kaliwi came to be high up in a coconut tree, unless she had climbed to gather nuts and then became so nervous she did

539 not have courage enough to come down. Perhaps this is why she called the winds (8) to blow her down.

The woman Kaliwi climbed to the windy heights of a tall tree. She chanted a call to the Wakalua wind that it might pound with its strength and blow her to the ground. The wind blew its hardest but Kaliwi could not fall. Next she called to the Tokelau wind. This wind blew so that the tree tops shook and the seas stood wild but Kaliwi could not fall. Then she called in turn to the Wakatiu, to the Palapu and to the Mauake winds. Each of these winds blew so that the coconuts fell down, the seas roared and the trees were bent against each other. But Kaliwi did not fall. At last Kaliwi prayed to the Tonga wind. Squalls sprang up and raced through the air. the sky was lost in rain, the branches of the trees broke and the cold wind pounded. Kaliwi shivered with the cold, her flesh quivered, her hands became numb and she fell from the tree top into the sea. As she fell her eye was pierced by a stick and gouged from her head. Kaliwi died and was turned into a komuli fish. That is why the komuli fish today has a sunken eye-it is the eye of Kaliwi torn by the stick.

Luea and his Children

Luea and his two children, Tuakatua and Kaimawu, went fishing one day in a canoe. A squall blew up and broke the anchor line so that the canoe drifted. The three paddles were broken by the father as he tried to move the canoe to land. A strange canoe called Spirit-of-the-sea came and took Kaimawu away. There remained Luea and Tuakatua. Finally the canoe overturned. A big fish swam by and Luea was swallowed up but not before he had time to tell his child, "If my strength rages inside the stomach of the fish, grasp its back and you will be carried to the reef."

Then the strength of the father raged inside the stomach of the shark. Tuakatua held to the fluke of the shark and was carried to the reef. He wandered inland, eating unripe fallen nuts until he regained some of his strength. When it came to other days, he climbed coconut trees and he soon had strength to walk back to Wale along the reef. The people supposed at first that it was a spirit of the outer reef approaching, but

8. The directions from which these Pukapukan winds blow are given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole pp. 22, category 116--analyst].

539 later they saw it was certainly Tuakatua. The boy was taken to the place called Matala and set down between two posts erected wide apart. They fed him food until he grew large enough to fill the space between the posts. Then he told his story that the men could hear.

The Ten Brothers

The husband was named Laumeakula, the wife Laumeamelo. Their family consisted of ten boys. The first born was Tayi (One). The second was Lua (Two). The third was Tolu (Three) and so the children were named up to Laungaulu (Ten).

The father and his ten children decided to go to the bush to cut trees from which to make fishing canoes. Laumeakula gave one adz to Tayi, two adzes to Lua, three adzes to Tolu and so on for all the sons up to Laungaulu who was given ten adzes. Then all went to the forest named Te Tea. Each cut down his tree and trimmed away the branches. As Tayi worked at his wood his adz broke. He knew his brother Lua had two adzes so he went to him begging Lua's second adz that he might finish his canoe named Te-po-lunga-te-po-lalo in which he planned to sail to the place named Tua-peaupeau. Lua refused his brother's request saying that if he lent his second adz and then broke his first he would be unable himself to finish his own canoe. Lua advised Tayi to borrow from Tolu who owned three adzes. But Tolu also refused his brother and so did each of the other brothers in turn, even Laungaulu who had ten adzes.

At this, Tayi cursed his brothers for being stingy (literally, "red-bellied"). He complained to his father of the meanness of his brothers and both parents felt sorry for their firstborn son. They advised Tayi to ask once again of Lua who should be the partner of his older brother in all things because the two boys were born one after the other. The parents further told Tayi that when he had finished his canoe he was to wrap his two parents in a Pandanus mat, tie them tight with an anchor line, place the bundle in the bow of his canoe and then drop the bundle overboard in the sea colored like the feces of the octopus. If the other brothers saw Tayi with his bundle he was to tell them it contained only Tikinau and Tekenau. Thus, by having Tayi throw his parents overboard to drown, the parents hoped to shame the stinginess of their other sons.

Tayi obeyed the instructions of his parents. His brother Lua was this time sorry for Tayi and lent his second adz, though not generously but with many words as to its care. Tayi finished his canoe. The canoes of his brothers were already launched and out fishing, Lua fishing on the sea colored

539 white, Tolu on the cream colored sea, Wa in the reddish sea, Lima in the red sea, Ono in the yellow, Witu in the orange, Valu in the dark sea, Iva in the black and Laungaulu in the sea where the sun's rays fell.

Tayi launched his canoe. He went to his parents and sorrowed over them, embracing them in farewell. Then he wrapped and tied his parents in mats, placed the bundle in the bow of his canoe and paddled through the many seas. As he passed through the white sea, Lua asked as to the bundle on the bow but, Tayi replied that it was only Tikinau and Tekenau. He answered this in all the seas as he passed each of his brothers fishing in his favorite water. In the end Tayi came to the sea colored like the feces of the octopus. He tied his parents to two large stones and dropped the bundles overboard. They sank below to the bottom of the ocean. Laungaulu thought of the two things that had been piled high on the bow of his brother's canoe. He was puzzled, and inside him he felt that he had lost his two parents.

The Turtles of Tatamanu

Tatamanu was a chief much given to bad things such as eating secretly and being stingy. One day he went to the back of the island where he saw a turtle. He did not kill the turtle but merely speared it. He removed its fat, its liver and one piece of flesh, eating these foods secretly after he had let the turtle escape. Many turtles did he capture in this way. There came a time when his wife was pregnant. Her moons finished, she gave birth to her child. When it fell to the ground, the people looked. The child of Tatamanu was crawling like a turtle. Tatamanu confessed his secret sins, but it was of no use. Not one of his many children was born like a human being; all were made like turtles.

Then Tatamanu wailed to his parents, his brothers and sisters. "Don't bury me in the cemetery of my fathers. Separate my grave so that I am in one place and my children in another." They buried Tatamanu in a place all alone by the road of Te-kulanga. Even today, people who go past this place say, "There is the cemetery of Tatamanu, a stingy person and one who ate in secret. He was disowned and thrown out by his ancestors." (9)

[764] 9. There was an intimate connection between the individual, his paternal lineage, and the cemetery which bore the same name as the lineage. The cemetery was so much a part of the sentiments constellated round the lineage group that burial in any other place than the lineage

The Woman of Stone

539 Luka the husband and Leiakunavai his wife lived in the middle of the island. Leikunavai gave birth to three children. The eldest born was a girl, Yuyulu. The second was a boy, Lapakiuila. The third was a girl, Yinalangaivaka. Then Leiakunavai became pregnant for a fourth time.

Luka thought he would go fishing to net *tiwitiwi* fish. He and his wife anchored their canoe in the lagoon. Luka dived for clams to use as bait. He let down his net and carried on his fishing. Then it began to rain. Luka was underwater arranging his net when a stone fell onto the canoe. It had the same shape and form as his wife, Leiakunavai. When Luka came to the surface there were two women in his canoe and because both had the same form and locks, Luka was at loss to know which was his wife. He questioned the two women. Both his wife and the rock woman claimed to be Leiakunavai. It was hard for Luka to know which to throw from his canoe. He threw out his real wife. Leiakunavai drifted out to sea while Luka and the rock paddled back to the island. The rock woman went to Luka's home where she lived with him, but she she had no child within her, her abdomen was swollen rock merely.

Leiakunavai drifted at sea. She prayed to the gods and they placed a rock for her to rest her toes on. She prayed again and the rock slowly grew in size until it reached her navel, until it was red on top, until it was as big as an island, until it was covered with coconut and Pandanus trees. Here, on the island called Lotutu, Leiakunavai lived and gave birth to twins named Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo. These three lived together and the twins grew up. One day they asked their mother as to the identity of their father, but the mother answered that their only father was the posts of the house. Then the children called on the posts to eat the food placed before them, but the posts would not eat. Again they questioned their mother and this time she answered that Luka was their father. She charged the twins to seek out their father's home and to return with their elder sisters. On no account, however, were they to return with Luka. If she saw Luka, Leiakunavai warned them she would turn into a rat and hide herself in a Pandanus log.

[764] 9. (continued) burial ground was unthinkable, and where this was decreed by island authorities, was tantamount to the deepest disgrace.

539 The twins paddled off to the island where Luka lived. The people of this island seized them, placed them in an enclosure and planned to kill them on the third night. The older twin chanted his cry:

Light raised the shadow on Lotutu,
We were born Te-mangaitua and Te-mangaialo,
We two shall be eaten by our progenitor,
By our father, Luka!

Luka and the people of the island heard their cry. Luka questioned them as to their coming. When he heard the reason, he decided to return with his children to his wife on the island of Lotutu. The twins warned him against this but Luka was stubborn. As the canoe came near to Lotutu, Leiakunavai counted the heads. Six people she saw. She entered a Pandanus log and cried "Ngi, ngi! " like a rat. When the children and Luka arrived at her house she was gone.

Giants of Tongaleleva

This is a story from Tongaleleva. Te-wuloa and Te-wupoto were wife and husband. They came from foreign lands. When they walked on the sea their heads rose into the sky. So swift was their walk that all the fish in the sea were thrown here and there by the speed of their passage. They seized and ate all the man-eating fish of the sea. When they landed on the island of Tunatau to sleep, their snoring was like the beating of thunder. Those people who walked close to them were inhaled up the giants' nostrils, so great was the rush of air.

When they ate, they fed continuously for ten days and nights. When they slept, they slept for six months at a stretch. When they cohabited, it took them six moons to finish. When their children were born they were gigantic animals.

The giants lived on Tunatau for a long time. Then the people became tired of being inhaled up the nostrils of the giants. The people became angry. There was a fight and the giants were chased back to Tongaleleva.

Tales of Man-eaters

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Grouped together here are all the tales of man-eating persons (tangata kai tangata) or demons (tupua kai tangata). The phrase kai tangata is used in ordinary speech to refer to anyone who is brutal, ferocious, cruel, or just mean. In these stories, however, it invariably refers to a creature who eats people, both adults and children. In one instance the cannibal is a god. Most of the man-eater stories tell first of the eating of a person,

538 and then of the punishment or killing of the man-eater by
266 another man or group of people. The punishment, which is
578 often as ferocious and brutal as the original crime, is related
154 by the narrator with great emphasis and graphic detail.

It will be noted that cannibals in these stories are exceptional persons, usually in foreign lands; only in three instances is Pukapuka the locus of the incidents (the stories of Te Atuapula, Witielo and Papalangi). The Pukapukans themselves say that their ancestors did not indulge in cannibalism at any time in the history of the atoll, and this statement seems to be substantiated by the absence of incidents of cannibalism in stories about historical personages. It is in these almost mythical tales about man-eating persons that one finds the only approach in Pukapukan culture to what has been termed elsewhere the "wihtigo psychosis", a psychotic craving for human flesh. In these stories the death of the man-eater is invariably accompanied by much apparently sadistic cruelty in which the cannibal is pounded apart piecemeal. The relatively large number of these stories in the folklore and traditions of the Pukapukans must be significant, and it is likely that their telling provided and provides even today, an outlet for repressed homicidal and sadistic tendencies, which might otherwise break out into actual violence, which would be especially dangerous because of the small population cooped up on the tiny atoll. Accounts of apparent group homicidal mania have been given previously [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 391-393, category 116--analyst]; these might perhaps have been more numerous but for the vicarious
[155] satisfaction provided by the man-eater type of story.

[192] Another point of interest is the possible significance of the "eating" concept prefixed to many and various phrases: ule kaina or wu kaina, "penis (desired) to eat, or vagina (desired) to eat", used as a greeting of especial warmth to an esteemed person, or to a younger person from whom a favor is desired or received; kaina e te miti, "eaten up by dreams", of a person who has had many dreams in one night; kai wale, "eating house" and kai wenua, "afterbirth eating", applied to a person who has committed incest; kai palanga, "eat feces", an oath or term of scorn; kai pulu tau tape, "eat menstrual pads", an oath or insult; kai used as a synonym in chants for the act of coitus. In all these foregoing is an association of the mouth with either desirable or horrible things, or acts, an association perhaps to be explained only in terms of analytic theory.

It may be noted finally that the Pukapukan idiom to express the idea of "revenge", is the phrase langa te imu (prepare the

538 oven): Here there is another association with the cooking
266 and eating of food, as if the ultimate revenge can only be
578 gained through the eating of the hated person. Insofar as
154 there are no records in Pukapuka of actual cannibalism, this
expression for revenge, together with the other eating concepts above, presumably have reference to a deep seated vicarious satisfaction obtained from the use of these idioms and concepts.

Of Wawine-mata

539 Wawine-mata was a man-eating woman. Her child was a small infant. One day she wished to go looking for food so she searched among the houses for a woman to care for her child while she was away. She found a woman named Tulekaleka (10) who agreed to watch over the infant while the mother was away. Wawine-mata gave explicit instructions about the child: if it cried, Tulekaleka was to give it water; if it hungered, Tulekaleka was to feed it coconut flesh.

After Wawine-mata had left, the infant began to cry in hunger. Tulekaleka fed it coconut flesh. Then she tore off the child's arm and ripped out its liver. The infant died. Tulekaleka washed off the blood from the corpse and wrapped it up nicely in a mat. She baked the infant's liver in the oven.

Wawine-mata returned to find Tulekaleka sitting quietly beside the bundled up infant. She thought the child was asleep and wished to wake it but Tulekaleka persuaded her to let it lie until she had tasted a portion of delicious food that she produced from the oven. Wawine-mata tasted, then praised the food, asking for more. She became thirsty and Tulekaleka took the coconut containers to fill them at the well. Instead of filling them, however, she smashed them one by one against a stone. Wawine-mata saw this. Suddenly she turned to her bundled infant. She opened the mat to find inside the dead

[71] 10. The sex of the individual Tulekaleka is of comparative importance because of the fact that Kennedy [see bibliographical references in 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 416, category 113 or 116--analyst.] reports from Vaitupu a story very similar to this in which Tulekaleka was a boy. In recording this story we assumed that the Pukapukan Tulekaleka was female. Informants agreed by letter that this was correct, all save two very reliable elderly men, who were positive that the Pukapukan character was an adult man.

539 disfigured body of her child. Enraged, she rushed after Tulekaleka but the latter quickly climbed a tree that leaned over the well. Wawine-mata looked in the water seeing there the reflection of her enemy. She dived into the well to grasp the image. Tulekaleka, seeing her feet pointing upwards, shamed her by crying: "There, there, I see the vulva of Wawine-mata! "

Then Wawine-mata found that Tulekaleka was not in the water but high up the tree. She climbed up the trunk to reach Tulekaleka, but Tulekaleka kicked her down and broke off her arms. Wawine-mata climbed up with her feet only. Tulekaleka kicked her down again, this time breaking off her feet. A third time Wawine-mata climbed, wriggling up by twisting her trunk. A last time she was kicked down by Tulekaleka. She fell dead at the bottom of the tree.

Of Vaetuaniu

There was a land on which only children lived. The children spent all their days surf-riding. A cannibal spirit from another land turned itself into a drifting log and in this disguise was found by the playing children. The children climbed onto the log in their sport which then carried them away to the land of spirits where all the children were eaten. Three times this happened. The third time Vaetuaniu was one of those carried away and put in an enclosure in the spirit land preparatory to being eaten up by the cannibals.

When night came the children tried to escape from the enclosure. One child tried to kick the fence down but he broke his leg with the kicking. Vaetuaniu repaired the fracture and asked another child to try. All tried, but even until daylight none were successful in making a hole in the fence.

In the morning, the spirit led the children to his house that he might eat. Vaetuaniu asked to be allowed to go to the beach to defecate. The spirit gave permission only when Vaetuaniu pointed out that it would be silly to eat his feces as well as his flesh. Vawtuaniu went to the beach. He made a small coconut leaf torch, then spat into a coconut shell and placed the shell on top of the torch instructing the shell to answer the spirit should he call. Then Vaetanuiu hurried away. Three times the spirit called and three times the coconut leaf answered, asking delay until the defecation was finished. When the impatient spirit came searching, Vaetuaniu was missing and only a piece of coconut leaf remained.

Vaetuaniu had meanwhile called on the seabirds to take him to the land of Tinilau. Only the *matiku* bird would do this.

539 The spirit, however, saw the bird flying away with Vaetuaniu on its back so he forced the bird to shake Vaetuaniu off his back and the boy came tumbling down to earth. The spirit ran to seize him but Vaetuaniu kicked him away. A second time he kicked the spirit and severed its head from its body. Then when it appeared as if the head would join itself again to the body, Vaetuaniu beat the spirit with a stick until its head and body were smashed utterly to pieces. Vaetuaniu called to the children and people of the island. They crowded on top of the spirit and pounded him with stones to such a degree that he was ground to dust. The island was safe and no more children were eaten by cannibal spirits.

Of Mokoyikungavali

Wiwiuli and Wiwitea were two parents who had a daughter named Yina. The parents were preparing taro for their next meal and so they sent Yina to gather puapua leaves with which to wrap the food before putting it in the oven. Yina hurried off to the puapua tree owned by her parents, then climbed to the top to tear off the ten bunches that her parents desired. Mokoyikungavali, who also claimed ownership of this tree heard Yina in the tree top and ordered her to climb down. Three times he ordered and three times the frightened Yina refused his command. Finally she slid down the tree and into the open mouth of Mokoyikungavali which he held gaping at the bottom. As Yina's feet were swallowed she cried to her parents:

Wiwiuli and Wiwitea, oh!
I fulfill your order to pick the leaves
Of the tree of Te Tea.
The creature Mokoyikungavali is here,
Sucking, sucking, swallowing,
I am finished inside his body!

She called again when she was swallowed to the waist, yet again when only her head remained free. None heard her. Her crying finished. The belly of Mokoyikungavali was so swollen with his meal that he could not stand, he simply sprawled on the ground at the foot of the puapua tree. The parents waited long, they then came to search, thinking perhaps that Yina had fallen from the tree. They found the ogre where he had fallen and questioned him as to the whereabouts of their daughter. Mokoyikungavali admitted he had swallowed her but stressed the fact that the girl had been stealing leaves from the tree which shaded him from the hot sun.

The parents would not be pacified. They threatened to

539 strike Mokoyikungavali dead unless he vomited up their daughter. The cannibal vomited and vomited until he had spewed forth the body of the daughter, but Yina was indeed dead, her skin burnt from her body by the heat inside the ogre's stomach. Then the parents grew angry at the sight of their dead daughter. They picked up stones and pounded Mokoyikungavali until he was dead.

Of Lua-tulivae

Mangaiwouwou was a man who joined in a fight and was badly injured. The back of his head was broken and his two lungs pierced. The only parts of his body unscathed were his buttocks and knees. He crawled from the fight on his kneecaps and came to his house. His wife and children heated water to massage his knees. They did this for many days until teeth finally grew from his kneecaps. Then Mangaiwouwou, or Lua-tulivae (Two-knees), as he came to be called, chased his wife and children in order that he might catch and eat them. The wife and children built five bonfires and set them burning. Lua-tulivae came hurrying along in pursuit and fell over the first fire. He rolled from it burnt, but not dead. He rolled over the second fire and his skin was burnt from his body, he was limp but not dead. He fell on the third fire and all the teeth were burnt from his knees. On the fourth fire he was scorched and sizzling. On the fifth fire he was burnt dead.

His wife and children were indifferent to his fate. It merely serves the shark right, they said, because he would have eaten us had he caught us.

The Cycle of Te Palo

538 A series of five stories is told about Te Palo, culture hero
773 from the land of Yayake. Three of these concern his exploits with man-eating demons, two are semi-historical and concern the visits of Te Palo to Pukapuka and his encounter with the Pukapukan hero Te Nana in Yayake.

Te Palo and the Demon Crab

539 Te-unga-tupua (Demon-crab) was a man-eating creature who lived in a hole in the land of Yayake. The people of Yayake were worried at the depredations of this creature so they decided to kill it. They went to the place where Te-unga-tupua lived and built close by ten huge rubbish piles. Te Palo boldly walked before the hole of the creature and attracted him to the open, then towards the place where were the rubbish piles. So intent was

539 Te-unga-tupua on seizing Te Palo that he did not notice when Te Palo lit the piles with his torch.

Te-unga-tupua crawled over the first fire and was scorched. One of his legs was broken off. Te Palo still moved backwards and on the second fire the creature broke off his second leg. This continued for nine fires and after crawling over these all the legs of the demon crab had been broken off. Only the crab's body and his testicles remained intact. Te Palo still continued to attract him and over the tenth fire the body and the testicles of the crab fell from their shell. Then Te Palo called the people of Yayake to come and kill the ogre. They rushed forward with sticks and stones. They pounded Te-unga-tupua until nothing remained but a soft mass.

Te Palo and Malele

Malele was a cannibal in the land of Yayake who owned a pool in which people came to bathe. If the people came in groups Malele would not molest them, but if they came singly or two women or two children together, then Malele would kill and eat them, hiding their bones in a secret place.

One day two people came to bathe. Malele killed one but the other escaped and ran back to tell the people that it was indeed Malele who was responsible for the disappearance of many people. Te Palo heard this and when it came to another day he went to bathe in Malele's pool. Malele was resting in the water and he invited Te Palo to bath with him. Te Palo did so and soon the pair began arguing as to which should dive first. Te Palo said Malele should have the privilege because he was the owner of the pool, but Malele insisted that Te Palo should be the first to dive because he was the invited guest bather. Because Malele was stubborn in his insistence, Te Palo dived first but he came up very quickly. There was Malele preparing to press his head underwater and drown him.

This time Malele dived down. Te Palo quickly pressed on his head and placed his second hand on Malele's malo, holding his head and body deep under the water. As Malele's anger surged within him, Te Palo composed his chant:

Held under the water is Malele,
Under water in his own pool.
Air bubbles break the water's surface,
Angry is the rage in Malele's intestines.

The two men struggled back and forth in the pool, Te Palo always keeping Malele's head towards the deep water. Then

539 as Malele grew weak from lack of breath, Te Palo pressed down harded and harder until Malele died. Te Palo called to the people.

Oh Yayake, vicious Malele has lost the laugh.
Come here to pound him so that his skin
is in shreds,
So that he is smashed to pieces,
So that his skin is rotten,
So that he is as soft as taro pudding!

The people rushed forward and pounded Malele's body until it was smashed to pieces. Then they looked for the place where he lived. It was chockfull of the bones of the people he had killed and eaten. Te Palo claimed a bone from the hand of Malele. Ever afterwards he used this bone as a needle for sewing the sail of his swift outrigger canoe.

The Bird of Witi

After Te Palo killed Malele he heard that there was also a man-eating creature in Witi. This creature had the shape of an enormous koloa bird. The bird would wait on land for returning fishing canoes. If the canoes had been successful the bird ate all the fish. If they were unsuccessful, the bird ate all the crew instead.

Te Palo went to Witi and inquired there from the people the habits of the creature. They told him and Te Palo decided to kill the bird. Te Palo went fishing on the first day and when he arrived back the koloa bird, as described, came to eat all his fish. On the second day, Te Palo made a wooden cover to fit over the bow of his fishing canoe. He caught many fish and distributed these over the canoe so that some were in the stern, some amidship and others in the bow. When he returned to the beach with his catch, he was met by the Koloa which as usual began to devour the fish in the canoe. The koloa began in the stern and steadily ate his way towards the bow. When the koloa reached the bow Te Palo picked up his cover and fitted it tightly over the bow, thus enclosing the koloa. The anger of the koloa raged and seethed inside the cover, but Te Palo kept it pressed down tight until the koloa weakened with exhaustion. Then he called all the people who came running with sticks and stones. They pounded the koloa until it was broken to pieces and ground the pieces to dust.

Other Stories of Man-eaters

Of Kaleva

539 Kaleva was a man-eating warrior. He would walk through the bush striking down and eating all the people he found there. Thus it was for many days and soon there was left no straggler that he might eat. The wife of Kaleva, a woman named Yina, and her two children Te Lupeamanu and Te Ikamaitai, became frightened thinking that Kaleva would probably kill and eat them next. So Yina said to her children one day, "You are only little morsels to eat, but you are my two children. Let us raise our house high on wooden piles so that Kaleva, when he comes for us, will be unable to reach us." The children listened to their mother and the house was soon raised high.

Sure enough Kaleva came soon from the bush looking for victims. He came to his house and seeing it high in the air he called to his children to hand him down his bunch of coconut fibers from which he wished to make some rope. The children replied that the fibers were nowhere in the house. But each knew that they were only pretending. Kaleva wished the children to descend and the children wished Kaleva to ascend that they might tie his neck with a rope as he came up and then strangle him with it.

Kaleva became impatient at the prevarication of his children and he jumped up the piles to his house. His children were waiting for him with a rope. They snared his neck and then strangled him. Then they composed a chant and called it out that the whole village might hear. This was their chant:

Concerning the growth of Kaleva,
He was born a man-eater.
Who were his two parents
That they did not pinch him at birth?
Kaleva was indeed a shameless person,
He ate the menstrual pads of women,
This it was, that made his heart rotten!

Of Papalangi

Papalangi was a man-eater and the people of the village punished him for this. Papalangi was shamed by this and his brain became stupified. He became mischievous and decided to have his revenge on the people. One day as he walked along the road of Walepuka he saw two children playing on the platform of a house. He took his spear and drove it through the bodies of the two children until they were dead. Then he

§39 realized what he had done and he rushed a away to hide. He found no safe place anywhere until he came to a horrible rubbish pile where things of the parturient women were thrown. He hid under this pile and was safe though the people of the island hunted for him everywhere.

One day a woman went to this pile to throw there the feces of her infant child. Papalangi stirred inside the pile and the woman saw him move. She roused the people and they hastened to the place. They captured Papalangi and decided to punish him for his murder by beating him with switches of ngangie wood. Papalangi was whipped until his skin hung in shreds. The parents of the murdered children came last. They heated two oven stones until the stones were red hot, and then applied these stones to Papalangi's testicles. The final punishment was decided on: Papalangi was to be thrown into the sea and not buried in his family cemetery. One rope was tied to his arms and another to his legs. Papalangi was taken to sea and dropped overboard. Men of one canoe pulled on one rope, men of another canoe on the other rope and thus they pulled until Papalangi was torn to pieces.

Of Wulukulamatoto

Wulukulamatoto was a man-eater who had two wives. He spent many of his days catching booby birds which he would bring back home for his wives to eat. One day Wulukulamatoto was struck by the canoe called Spirit-of-the-sea as he was sailing to his bird island and he died.

The spirit of the dead man could not desert his two wives so he brought them at night presents of many booby birds. The wives were pleased with this attention and began to eat the birds but their god warned them not to eat the food because the spirit of their dead husband would enter their intestines with the food and then eat them until they faded away and died. The wives were frightened and refrained from tasting the food. Then they composed an insulting chant about Wulukulamatoto:

Make a place of cohabitation,
A place for Wulukulamatoto,
He strings boobies to feed his wives,
But he was obstinate towards us,
For him our wombs are hard,
As hard as seeds of the wetau tree.

Of Witielo and Witilangi

Witielo and Witilangi were two priests of the paternal lineage

539 of Tua. Their god was Ngaliyeyeu. They were troublesome priests and man-eaters. One day when they were walking on the reef they came upon a priest named Pulekava. This man was spearing malatea fish. The priests wished to kill Pulekava with their own fish spears but Pulekava saw them coming. He prayed to his god Vaelua for strength and then challenged Witielo and Witilangi in such a determined fashion that the two man-eaters were frightened and hurried on their way.

Witielo and Witilangi took to their canoe and paddled further along the reef until they came to the place where a priest of the god Te Laupapa, a man named Malowou, was fishing. The men beached their canoe and hurried towards Malowou but Te Laupapa set their canoe adrift. The men hastened back to rescue their drifting canoe. A second time they advanced towards Malowou and a second time their canoe was set drifting by the god. Again they hastened back to salvage it and this time Witilangi stayed to guard it while Witielo rushed to spear Malowou. Malowou had a netful of *manini tauila* fish which he hurled in the face of the advancing priest. The spikey fins stuck in Witielo's face. He squirmed with pain and fled back to the canoe where he told Witilangi to try to kill Malowou while he guarded the canoe. Witilangi rushed forward confidently but he too was met with a netful of *manini* fish. Screaming with pain he ran to the canoe. The two priests decided to drop their attack. They decided that Malowou was helped by a powerful god against whom it would be impossible to tilt. They paddled back home and Malowou was saved.

Te Atua-pule

538 The last story of this series concerns the killing of Te-
773 Atua-pula, the man-eater god, by two Pukapukan men, Wotoa and Te Yoa; the two brothers who had previously made the visit to the Underworld, [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-329, category 539 or 116--analyst.] Because of their undoubted powers as priests, they were called upon to deal with the cannibal god. Another version relates that the reason the two brothers were anxious to kill the cannibal was because he had previously eaten Te Yoa's wife when she had incautiously strayed too near its hole. The reference to the sacred foot of Te Yoa is obscure. The second account merely states that women nearby saw the two heroes were being dragged in the hole of the god and cried out to them to stiffen their legs, plant their feet securely against a rock and use this pressure

538 as a support to exert all their strength. The place where this
773 god had its hiding hole, Te-lua-no-te-atua-ngutu-uli (Hole-of-the-black-mouthed-god), is still pointed out; all that remains is a depression in the ground.

539 Te Atua-pule lived inside his hole. He would stick his head outside the hole and watch people going by. If the people went in pairs or groups, Te Atua-pula would not distrub them. If a single person wandered by, the man-eater would attract him to his hole and then when he dropped inside Te Atua-pule would eat him.

His habits became known to the people and they all asked Wotoa and Te Yoa to kill the man-eater. These two decided to try. They came near the hole and rattled there strings of Conus shells. When Te Atua-pule poked his head outside the two men hid and when Te Atua-pule withdrew into his hole, then the men stood up and rattled the shells again. Gradually the men came nearer the hole. At last, when Te Atua-pule looked forth, Wotoa seized the head and tried to pull the man-eater into the open. But instead Wotoa was being pulled into the hole. Te Yoa grasped his malo and the two men pulled mightily. Both the man-eater and the men became furious with anger. In the struggle Te Atua-pule broke loose and came again to attack. A woman standing some distance off watching the struggle saw the peril of the two men. She called to Te Yoa, telling him to raise his sacred foot. Te Yoa did as he was bid and Te Atua-pule fell over, but before the men could jump on him he slipped into the sea and came up in Samoa. He was lost from Pukapuka forever, but he lived as a man-eater in Samoa where he gained the name of Te Atua-ngutu-uli (Black-mouthed-god).

Stories about historical personages

538 The remaining stories deal with historical characters. They
173 fall naturally into six classes: stories of love, of adultery and its punishment, of thieving and its punishment, of revenge for insult of homicide, stories of historical personages who have become invested with much of the aura of culture heroes, and finally stories of voyaging Pukapukans. Though some of the stories are slight, they contain valuable information on social customs and structure; all were considered by informants worthy of telling. They constitute the background for much of everyday conversational reference.

Stories of Love

538 Stories and anecdotes coming within this category serve

538 to illustrate patterns relating to courtship and marriage. Like all incidents dealing with the relations between the sexes, the Pukapukan finds them both popular and diverting.

Of Nonu

539 Ko kioleloa te matua tane; ko kioleitaita te matua wawine. Ko Nonu ta laua tamatane. Ko to latou wale ya ulaki ki te kilikili kala. Ko ta laua tama ko Nonu, e tama motoilele. E kiai ya kitea te wui matawale, ya yiaki wua ki lunga o te papanga o to latou wale. Womamai la te wui takanga a te wui tamawine, ma o latou yei, ke wakalili ai i a Nonu. Onoono atu i a Kioleloa ma Kioleitaita ki na tamawine. Valovalo loa lua matutua ia ki ta laua tama, ki a Nonu. Teia ta laua valovalo, "E Nonu e, yukena mai te kapa tautala o to tatou wale na; mata mai na yolonga na pe lelei pe kikino." Yuyuke i a Nonu i te kapa tautala. Onoono atu, e kikino. Kakole la i a Nonu ki lua ona matutua, "E kikino. E ye wu toku manako. Tuli atu ki na imu na ke nani ai ki te kele imu." Wo na yolonga takenga. Yolo mai na toe takanga. Peia mai oki i a Nonu ki lua ona matutua.

Ko Moa te ingoa o te tamawine ia: e tamawine wakalialia, lau kumikumia, pakuongea, wakawewewewewewia. Ya makatia e te wui tamawine no te wakalialia. Wano loa i a Moa koto tiale, ni tiale momoto wua ona mea; e kiai ya matatala. Ya pau na tiale matatala e te kotoa e te wui tamawine. Tui loa i a Moa i tona yei tiale momoto ia. Otiake te tui, wano loa wuwulu. Otiake te wuwulu, yau loa tapena. Yei ake ma tona yei momoto ia. Yaele loa la te ngutu ala. Oko loa ki te wale o Nonu ma. Kakalo mai loa i a Kioleloa ma Kioleitaita. Valovalo loa ki a Nonu, "E Nonu e, mata mai te tamawine nei pe lelei, pe kino." Yuyuke atu la i a Nonu te Kapa tautala. Onoono atu la i a Nonu. Kamuloa i a Nonu ulangia. Manako loa i a Nonu. Moa loa ki lua ona matutua, "Aumai ake la, wakawiti mai ki lunga ke maneanea ake maua." Talatu la te tala ki te wenua, "I a Nonu ma Moa na, na wakao." Kamuloa i te wui tamawine toto na palo. Makekea i te mauanga o Nonu i a Moa. Wo loa takele i a Nonu ma Moa. Wo oki te wui tamawine taumatavao i a Nonu ma Moa. Kakole la te wui tamawine, "I te wakapau tane, yaula e tamawine wakalialia." Ko Nonu ya tautaua na lei, ya lakei ai to latou wale. Pau ai.

Kioleloa was the father, Kioleitaita the mother. Nonu was their son. Their house had been filled with red coral stones. Their child, Nonu, was a beautiful child. He had not seen the housefronts; he had remained only on the platform of their house. The pairs of girls came by with their leis to attract Nonu. Kioleloa and Kioleitaita looked at the girls. The two

537 parents called out to their child, to Nonu. This was their call, "O Nonu, oh, open there the corner of the roof of our house; inspect the procession here (see) whether it is good or bad." Nonu opened the corner of the roof. He looked out, it was no good. Nonu answered his two parents, "They're bad. My mind is not pleased. Chase them to the ovens to smear themselves with ashes." The procession of pairs went. Other pairs moved up. Nonu (said) the same to his two parents.

Moa was the name of a girl; she was a homely girl, with kinky hair, smelly, ugly. She had been thrown out by the girls because of her ugliness. Moa went to pick tiale, tiale buds only were her things, they had not yet flowered. All the open tiale had been picked by the girls. Moa sewed her lei of tiale buds. Finished sewing, she went to bathe. Finished bathing, she returned to get ready. She put on her lei of buds. She walked along the main road. She reached the house of Nonu and the others. Kioleloa and Kioleitaita looked out. They called to Nonu, "O Nonu, oh, examine this girl whether she is good or bad." Nonu opened the corner of the roof. Nonu looked out. Nonu was indeed delighted. Nonu was pleased. He said to his two parents, "Fetch her, let her climb up here so that we two can play."

The story was told to the island: "Nonu and Moa have married." Indeed, all the girls were dumbfounded. They were jealous of the getting of Nonu by Moa. Nonu and Moa went to bathe. The girls also went to spy on them. The girls objected, "What a waste of a man, she's such an ugly girl." Nonu collected seaweed, decorated their house. It is finished.

Of Angaino

Ko Angaino e tane Yato. Ko te yoa o Angaino, ko Kalou. Ya wai ipo i a Angaino ki a Te Oi. Talatala loa i a Angaino ki a Kalou, "Wano koe ki a Te Oi, ke yau ki aku nei. Ka wo maua ki Tua o Wakatiu." Wakatika loa i a Kalou. Wano loa. Ko Kalou, e tane Ngake. Wano loa i a Kalou ki a Te Oi. Wo loa laua, wo atu laua ki te vao, konikoni atu laua.

Kali la i a Angaino ke yau. Kali, e. Kali mai te taeyao e, tutonu te la. Kali mai te tutonungala e, awiawi. Na wo i a Kalou ma Te Oi ki te vao. Yau loa la i a Te Oi ki Tupapa, ki te wale atua, no ai iai. E kiai i a Angaino na kakalo ki ai. Oti ai loa te tala o te poloaki ia.

Angaino was a Yato man. Kalou was the friend of Angaino. Angaino had made Te Oi his sweetheart. Angaino said to Kalou, "Go to Te Oi, tell her to come to me here. We shall go to Tua o Wakatiu." Kalou agreed. He went. Kalou was a Ngake man. Kalou went to Te Oi. The two of them went, they

$39 went off to the bush, they two copulated.

Angaino waited for her to come. He waited, e-e-e. He waited from the morning, e-e-e, the sun was overhead. He waited from noon, e-e-e-, till evening. Kalou and Te Oi had gone to the bush. Te Oi came to Tupapa, to the wale atua, stayed there. Angaino did not look over there. Finished is the story of that love marriage.

Of Tutuila

Ko Tutuila wa Yikitia. Ko Yikitia e wawine loa vave. E malulu te wui tane; vave loa i a Yikitia. Yaula i a Tutuila, e yoa no Takatakai. Ko Yikitia, e wawine ke. Yaula i a Tutuila, ya wuna, e kiai na maua i a Yikitia. Timotimo atu i a Tutuila i tona po mua. Pangea e Yikitia. Oti te po la. Oko ake ki te toe po. Wano oki atu i a Tutuila ki a Yikitia, timotimo atu oki. Pangea oki e Yikitia. Malama loa te po la. Wano loa la i a Tutuila tangi ki tona yoa, ko Takatakai, "Kalekala E ye maua loa e Yikitia i aku. Ya pange loa i aku ki na konga. Kae au tionga la?"

Kakole la i a Takatakai: "E tai aku tionga. Kaleawua la ki te po nei. Wano loa koe kiai. Wano la pania to kili te pua o te wau. Ke oko koe kiai, ka yongiyongi mai i a Yikitia i to kili. Yongiyongi atu koe i tona kili. Ke wakaulunga mai i a Yikitia i to ulu ki tona lima, wakaulunga oki koe i tona ulu ki to lima. Ke yongi mai i a Yikitia i to kaponga, yongi oki koe, i tona kaponga. Ke kamu mai i a Yikitia i o tuauma, kamu oki koe i ona tuauma. Ke kata mai i a Yikitia ki a koe, kata oki koe kiai. Ko aku tionga ia."

Po ake la te po, wano loa la i a Tutuila ki a Yikitia. Na oti tona kili te pani ki te pua wau. Koa kakala pe te kili o Takatakai. Wakayongi ake i a Yikitia i a Tutuila, koa kakala pe te kili o tana ipo, ko Takatakai. Yongi loa la i a Yikitia i te aloalo o Tutuila. Yongi oki i a Tutuila i te aloalo o Yikitia. Wakaulunga oki i a Yikitia i te ulu o Tutuila ki tona lima. Wakaulunga oki i a Tutuila i te ulu o Yikitia ki tona lima. Otiake. Yongi mai oki i a Yikitia i te iyu o Tutuila. Yongi atu oki i a Tutuila i te iyu o Yikitia. Patu mai oki i a Yikitia i na uma o Tutuila. Patu atu oki i a Tutuila i na uma o Yikitia. Manako loa la i a Yikitia, "Ko Takatakai pe tenei. Ko a maua tionga tenei e wai nei." Koa oti a laua wemilinga ia, lave kawatau atu loa laua.

Malama loa te po. Langona loa la i a Yikitia, "Kalekala pe! Te tangata na yau i te po ki a koe, ko Tutuila." Kamuloa te lili o Yikitia pokalekale. Kae ana konga la yau ai. Ko no i a Tutuila i tawa o Takatakai. E tengia loa i a Yikitia. E konga waingata! Pau ai loa te tala o Tutuila ma Yikitia.

539 Tutuila and Yikitia. Yikitia was a very strong woman. The men were weak, Yikitia was stronger. Next, Tutuila was a friend of Takatakai. Yikitia was a strange woman. Tutuila had desired her, had not succeeded in getting Yikitia. Tutuila went to her in his first night. He was refused by Yikitia. Finished that night. It came to another night. Tutuila went again to Yikitia, to wait for her. Again he was refused by Yikitia. The night became morning. Tutuila went crying to his friend, Takatakai, "What do you think? I can not get Yikitia. She pushed me away to places. Have you no technique for it?"

Takatakai answered, "I have a technique. Wait till night. You go to her. Smear your skin with the scent of the wau (flower). When you get there, Yikitia will repeatedly smell your skin. You smell her skin. When Yikitia makes a headrest for your head with her arm, you make a headrest for her head with your arm. When Yikitia smells your cheek, you smell her cheek too. (11) When Yikitia hits your chest, you hit her chest. When Yikitia laughs at you, you laugh at her. That is my technique."

Night fell. Tutuila went to Yikitia. His skin was finished being smeared with wau scent. It smelled like the skin of Takatakai. Yikitia smelled Tutuila, the skin smelled like the skin of her lover, Takatakai. Yikitia smelled the chest of Tutuila, Tutuila smelled the chest of Yikitia. Yikitia made a headrest for the head of Tutuila with her arm. Tutuila made a headrest for Yikitia with his arm. Finish. Yikitia smelled the nose of Tutuila. Tutuila also smelled the nose of Yikitia. Yikitia hit the chest of Tutuila. Tutuila also hit the chest of Yikitia. Yikitia thought, "This is certainly Takatakai. These are our techniques he performs here." Their feeling of each other being over, they hooked the anchor (copulated).

The night became day. Yikitia heard, "Fancy, indeed the person who came to you in the night was Tutuila." Yikitia's anger was exceedingly black with rage. There was no place for her to come (nothing for her to do about it). Tutuila stayed at the side of Takatakai. Yikitia was disgusted. It was a difficult situation. Finished is the story of Tutuila and Yikitia.

[832] 11. In this story, the Pukapukan word yongi has been roughly translated as "to smell". The yongi is the Pukapukan sign of affection. In greeting or farewell a friend presses his nose against the nose of another, smelling or inhaling as he does so. To show affection for a white friend, the Pukapukan inhales and then presses his nose against the while man's hand. In the intimacies of sexual play the nose may be used to inhale the odor of various parts of the body before being

Of Wekeli

539 The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the
[833] aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Mata-yauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 The stories of adultery describe the supernormal or secular
837 punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of
762 the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] 11. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

Of Pania

539 Pania was a man of Yalongo lineage. He was in charge of the fishing for the old men's group. One morning he gathered together his crew and put out for the fishing grounds. He was unsuccessful and prayed to the god Te Awuawu to send fish to his trolling lines. Meanwhile his wife had been taken to the bush by a man of another lineage. Pania suspected that trouble at home must be the cause of his bad fortune so he also made other prayers to Te Awuawu in order to nullify the bad effects of possible adultery on the part of his wife.

After these prayers Pania and his men caught many fish. Coming back home, he passed over the reef and left a gift fish (tapu ika) for Te Awuawu on the rock shrine called Te Watu-o-Malaetapu in thanks for the help received from the god during the day. After presenting the fish to the old men at their meeting place Pania went home. He consulted his god about the behavior of his wife and was assured that she had misconducted herself during his absence. With this assurance in mind Pania ordered his wife to leave his house and go back to that of her parents. Thus breaking his first marriage, Pania stayed until daylight with another woman. In this way he contracted a second marriage.

Of Pukiko

Maloatu was a man of Ngake village. Pukiko was his wife. Maloatu suspected that his wife was having an affair with a man named Pania, but whenever he challenged Pukiko she lied to him and professed complete faithfulness to her husband. One day when Maloatu was walking through the reserve of Uta he thought of a plan to test his wife. He sought out his friend Lawuatu, asking him to go to Pukiko with the message that Pania awaited her on the back beach of Yamanaia.

Evening came and the men of the reserve land guard were returning to the village with their hair gaily decorated with flowers. Maloatu hurried to Uta and hid behind a cluster of trees. Soon he saw Pukiko coming. The night was moonless and very dark. As Pukiko came up to his hiding place he came forward and Pukiko, thinking the figure her lover, made to embrace him. Maloatu grasped her tight and then shamed her by throwing her lies in her face.

On the next morning Maloatu spoke to his wife, saying he was going to throw her from his house. Her brother heard of the contemplated divorce. He came to reason and argue with Maloatu. In the end Maloatu decided to take his wife back.

Of Malaetele

539 Yavake was the husband of the woman Malaetele. Tawaia, another man, was in love with her. One morning Tawaia saw Malaetele groping for fish along the reef. Tawaia excused himself from his own house telling his wife that he must go to see who the strange person was trespassing on this part of the reef. When he came up with Maletele, the two walked along the reef to the reserve islet of Kotawa. On this islet the lovers stayed for ten nights and then they walked on to Motu Ko where they stayed together for twenty nights.

At the end of this period Malaetele came back to the village. Now Yavake was an unusual man in that he lived with his wife only, having no affairs with other women. Malaetele walked to her husband's house and climbed on the house platform where she set to with her domestic occupations as if nothing had happened. The maternal sub-lineage of Yavake, however, determined to shame the wife, so they came to Yavake and told the whole story of his wife's adultery. Malaetele from her house platform heard the words. Confident in the power of her hold over her husband's affections, she composed and chanted this insulting song, hurling it with contempt at her interfering relatives by marriage:

From my place above,
I laugh at the words
Of the crabs and the rats.
They are but small fish bait,
Taken from the coral heads of Oka.
Their vulvas smell bad,
They have no success with any man,
Only ghosts come to sleep with them!

Of Lengatu

Lengatu was the wife of Kieilu, warrior-messenger and servant of Maina, supreme chief of the island. Te Pa was the chief of Muliwutu lineage. One day Maina sent Kieilu to gather together the people of the island that they might meet and discuss island affairs. Kieilu announced the meeting at the place Matano, then went on to Loto village and finally made his way to the place called Na Walenamu. Here he stumbled upon Lengatu and Te Pa making love together. Kieilu became incensed at the sight and incapacitated Te Pa by striking him on the fundament. Lengatu helped her lover back to the village. Then she left Kieilu's house and ran to that of her father. Her father was very angry at this method of announcing her divorce from Kieilu. He reasoned with Lengatu stressing the fact that

539 Kieilu was a good food gatherer and a clever craftsman, generous besides and always making gifts to Lengatu's maternal lineage.

Even so, Lengatu refused to return to her husband. She preferred to live with Te Pa and soon this new arrangement was made permanent. The whole island gossiped about the business: "Indeed, Lengatu is without doubt a very cheeky girl, changing and choosey about men. She has left the best man on the island. Let her suffer for it. Let her people not try to bring her and her husband together again. Leave her to find out her own fault that in the end she may return contrite at heart."

Of Kaikiki

Kaikiki was a man of Matanga lineage who committed adultery with Loloko. These two went to the islet of Ko and spent many days there together. Their actions were seen by the gods of the lineage of Poutama, wife of Kaikiki. When Kaikiki returned to his home he became very sick. His spirit was taken by the gods and thrown inside the eight-walled enclosure of the god Te Vayi, a place in the Underworld where a fire burns unceasingly. Kaikiki's skin peeled off with the heat and he would have been burnt had not his wife relented in her sorrow for him. She prayed to her gods to cure his sickness. They returned his spirit to his body. Kaikiki became well again and the people made a chant for him that is remembered to this day. Part of it runs:

I am come to the enclosure of Te Vayi,
I am hot, my skin is burned,
It is cooked. Your sickness it was
That sent me to the back of the sacred skies
Where I am seared by the fire of Te Vayi.

Of Kupenga

Kupenga was the wife of Te Anga. She was a woman sexually dissatisfied by the love-making methods of her husband and every day she would go to other men seeking fulfillment of her sexual urges. It came to another day and she was led by a young man to the back beaches of the island. With him she stayed until the day darkened. Meanwhile she had been spied on by the relatives of Te Anga who came to him saying, "Your wife has cohabited at the place Tua-o-Wakatiu until dark. There she comes crawling back to you, trying to deceive you with lies and flattery that you may not know of her doings."

The heart of Te Anga was filled with jealousy. His jaws

539 trembled, his feet stamped up and down as he waited for Kupenga to return. When she at last came, Te Anga seized her, tore apart her thighs so that her genitals were exposed. He tied one leg to one side of his house, stretched the other leg to the other side and tied her two arms to posts. No part of Kupenga remained covered. The news quickly spread to the whole island and all the people came to watch.

Nothing like this had happened before on Pukapuka. Te Anga stood guard before his wife, armed with a spear and club. Unyielding, he threatened death to any one who dared try untie his wife. The men were frightened of the strength and skill of Te Anga. They cried out against the shame of the punishment and beat their arms against their bodies in helplessness.

Some men and relatives of Kupenga crawled to the noted warrior Kieilu and urged him to untie the woman. At first Kieilu refused to interfere but on further urging he promised to try. As the people and Kupenga's relatives and members of her maternal lineage stood about in shame at this exposed object on whom even the children looked, Kieilu crawled along the ground in abasement and spoke beseeching words to Te Anga, addressing him as a god, praying him to give way to popular feeling and make gentle his heart against his wife. Finally Te Anga relented. He told the people to untie his wife. They untied her and straightened her stiffened limbs made tight by a day's tying. But Kupenga was ashamed at this exposure. During the night she fastened an anchor rope round her neck and strangled herself. The whole island was disgusted with Te Anga and his punishment.

Stories of Theft and Homicide

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The next group of stories is concerned with punishment for two offenses; stealing and homicide. The first story, that of Kaivai (Rascals) of Longolongo, tells of a group of men who set out systematically to rob their more slow-witted village friends. The events narrated in the story took place during the reign of Maina, after the seismic wave, and the excuse for their conduct--given in another record--is that in times of food scarcity it is no crime for a hungry man to steal the wherewithal to satisfy his hunger. The men were not physically punished because it was not the policy of Maina to put any man to death for anti-social behavior. When the men of the group died, however, they were all buried, regardless of their lineage memberships, in a common grave near the cemetery of Muliwutu, this disgrace being sufficient
538 punishment for the offense. The story incidentally provides an excellent account of the duties of the guard in control of the

538 reserves, and of the type of food divisions made among the villagers from the reserve food supplies.

The Rascals of Longolongo

539 Wuina, a man of Loto village, gathered about him a gang of thieves from all the villages. The villages arranged their plans for going to reserves to gather food. Ngake village sent the members of the reserve land guard to announce the going to Motu Ko. Each man and woman was to be allowed five dried nuts, each child four nuts. Each person was to be allowed two drinking nuts and two uto nuts. Each canoe was allowed three baskets of Pandanus fruit.

When the Rascals heard this announcement, they secretly went by night to Motu Ko, loaded their canoes with stolen food and returned to their houses undiscovered. Again the village of Yato announced its visit to its reserve of Motu Kotawa. Again the Rascals made a secret visit to the reserve and came back with much food. The same thing happened when Loto village went to its reserve called Uta.

At a later time, the people of Yato dug up all the taro from the village beds at the back of the island. In the evening the Rascals stole all this food. A second time this happened and Yato village set a guard round their reserves. Again the thieves came to steal taro, but this time the men of Yato made a close ring round the gardens, each guard clasping the arm of the guard next him. Wuina saw that he was surrounded. He looked at the ring carefully and saw a place where only weak men were standing. With his gang solidly behind him Wuina rushed to this place and burst through it. The gang ran back to Ngake village, to the safety of their houses, closely pursued by Yato men. Wuina waited until his enemies were close, then he tore out one of the posts of his house. Using this as a weapon and supported by the expert skill of his father, Ngingi, a noted warrior, these two men so intimidated the Yato guards that they hurried helter-skelter to their own village. Even so the gang of Rascals realized their narrow escape and ended their tricks thereafter.

Kape and Wuina

[627] The tale of Wuina of Yayake is a simple account of stealing and revenge. Another version of this story relates that Wuina had previously attempted to steal nuts from the storehouse of Malamatia. Malamatia had surprised him, but Wuina had split open his head with and adz and Malamatia died from the injuries received. Hence the desire of Malamatia's brother for revenge.

539 Kape's brother, Malamatia, had been killed by the thief Wuina. Kape decided to avenge (literally, "prepared the ovens") his brother's death and searched for a method by which Wuina would die. This was the temptation: Kape went to dig a basket of taro which he carried very ostentatiously past the place where Wuina was sitting and so on to a very distant place where no land shells made a sound. Coming to where a coconut leaf drooped down to touch the coral, Kape dug a hole beneath the leaf of such a depth that the buttocks of Wuina would stand above the hole. Kape buried the taro and went off to prepare his spear.

Wuina had followed Kape to the place and watched him leave. Then he ran with joy to the hole and began to dig up the sand to get at the taro. Meanwhile, armed with his spear, Kape crept quietly back. The noise of his movements was covered by the swishing of the coconut leaf against the coral and besides Wuina was intent on his digging. Wuina was reaching down to the taro and his buttocks were upward. Kape drove his spear into Wuina with such force that the point came out of Wuina's mouth. Wuina died and this verse recalls the incident:

Like the story of Kape in Yayake,
And the taro hole where he speared Wuina,
The hole he placed below the coconut leaf,
It was Kape's revenge for Malamatia
For Wuina, the thief, had often troubled us.

Vakayala

538 The tale of Vakayala is reminiscent of the story of Papalangi
579 (see pages 46-47) which also has as its motive the running
627 amok of a man shamed or punished by the community for anti-social conduct. It is noteworthy that in both stories the individual expressed his anger against the community by the purposeless killing of the first helpless children he met when fleeing from the place of his shame. Papalangi was
[539] further punished for manslaughter by drowning, Vakayala by being whipped to death. An alternate account of Vakayala's death adds a refinement of torture to his punishment when it states that the father of the slain children heated two large stones in the oven and applied them to Vakayala's testicles, which finally "exploded." The variant account also states that Vakayala was never buried but that his disintegrated body was allowed to drift in the lagoon with the tide so that everyone might curse it; in the end there was nothing left of the body save two gleaming eyes which the people saw when they went to the beach at night to curse Vakayala.

Of Vakayala

539 Vakayala was a man of Matanga lineage, of the sub-lineage Yeumamao. Together with the other people of Ngake village he went to the reserve of Motu Ko to gather and husk fallen coconuts. All the people had been warned against taking drinking coconuts.

Vakayala went to the middle of the reserve, opened a drinking nut and later cracked the shell to eat the flesh. In the quietness of the bush this was heard by the other men and they ran to him seeking to hold him for having broken the tapu of the reserve. Vakayala escaped them and ran back to Wale along the eastern reef. At the place called Utupoa he came upon the two children of Palaoa playing while their father worked close by clearing a reef channel of coral rocks. In his madness Vakayala struck down the two children and killed them. Rushing further he came to the two children of Te Kula playing by their house. These children also Vakayala killed.

The whole island was enraged by these purposeless killings. Vakayala was caught and it was decided that he be whipped to death. He was dragged to the meeting around and then the men of each lineage whipped him in turn. His skin swelled, became raw, only flesh remained, then his veins stood out and soon bones were visible. When all the lineages had finished, Vakayala was dragged to the beach and thrown into the sea, drifting back and forth as wind and tide carried him. At night his maternal lineage came secretly to the beach, gathered the body in a mat and buried him in a hole dug by the sacred worshipping house of Yeumamao. When morning came the people went to look for the body in the sea but none could find it and none knew its whereabouts. This is well for had his maternal lineage been discovered, all the men of this lineage would have been whipped. The island had decreed death for Vakayala and none might interfere without punishment by the island.

Of Kaleva-motu

539 The following story relates to incidents occurring about the
627 time of the high chief Alatakupu. Kaleva-motu was the warrior-
762 servant of this bloodthirsty and vicious chief and it is likely that Kaleva-motu had killed the father of Te Vana under orders of the chief. Nevertheless, Te Vana sought revenge. It may be noted that his honor was satisfied when he inflicted severe wounds on Kaleva-motu whose suicide was forced on him by the men of the island because he had violated the tapu associated with the resting place of the high chiefs of the island.

539 Wekao had been killed by Kaleva-motu, and his son, Te Vana, sought revenge. Because Kaleva-motu was a strong man and a noted warrior there was no way to kill him openly. Therefore Te Vana sought a stratagem and planned the killing while Kaleva-motu was engaged in fishing. Kaleva-motu, Te Vana and their friends decided to net *kaloma* fish. They netted on many beaches and then prepared to divide the fish into shares. The shares were placed on the beach and each came to take his fish. Kaleva-motu's name was called but he saw a coconut wood spear hidden close by. He ran instead of coming and Te Vana chased him. Kaleva-motu was swift-footed inland, Te Vana swift-footed on the beaches. Just as Te Vana came up to his enemy, Kaleva-motu jumped into the sea. Te Vana hurled his spear and saw it strike Kaleva-motu in the middle of the back. It was dusk and Te Vana assumed he had killed the enemy. But Kaleva-motu pulled out the spear and then swam quietly with only his nostrils above water to a lonely beach.

He made his way back to Wale. There was only one place where he would be unmolested and that was the sacred resting place of the high chiefs. None would come near this place. Kaleva-motu hid here and some of his relatives came in secret to treat his spear wound. Soon Kaleva-motu was well again, but it became known that he was violating the tapu of the high chiefs. The men came to kill him. Kaleva-motu asked that he be allowed to commit suicide. The men dug a deep grave for him and led him to the hole. His maternal relatives stood around the hole that he might not play tricks and seek to escape. This was their duty after the island decided to punish. They placed Kaleva-motu inside the hole and buried him alive.

Of Uila and Palakula

Uila was the son of the high chief Tuliayanga. On many occasions he whipped the children of Palakula and Kutikuti, his wife. The children went crying to their mother, complaining of the cruelty of Uila, "Have we no father to protect us, why does he not stop our pain?" Kutikuti could only reply to that that no help could come from their father and that they were children indeed conceived by the weakest of semen.

Palakula happened to overhear these remarks and he was spurred to action, even though Uila was the son of the high chief. He went to Uila and questioned him. Uila became angry and jabbed his finger into Palakula's eye. Then while Uila gouged out his eye Palakula gripped his tormentor by the testicles and tore them from his body. Uila died.

The people of the island surmised that the whole maternal

539 lineage of Palakula would be wiped out collectively in punishment for this death. The high chief came for his revenge. He insisted on death or exile. Palakula and his lineage chose exile. They prepared their double canoes, bequeathed their properties to groups that remained and sailed to the Matoyia ocean. None has heard of them since and they were all eaten by sharks it is thought.

The making of culture heroes

538
773 The following group of stories defies any simple classification. The first story recounts the testing of the chief Tuliayanga by the gods.

Of Tuliayanga

539 The gods were annoyed with Tuliayanga's boasts of his prowess as a netter of flying fish and decided to put his powers to the test. Tuliayanga went fishing one night with a fleet of flying fish canoes. The gods arranged for one flying fish (malolo) to fly straight through the air to the chief's eye, while another fish was to go through the air, aiming directly for his testicles. The gods thought that if the chief was not so skilled with the use of the net as he thought, he would be confused by the two fish and suffer serious injury through failure to net them. When the canoes were over the flying fish shoal, the two fish flew through the air in the direction of Tuliayanga. Many men tried to net them but failed. The chief was quicker than the others and with a double sweep of his net caught both fish before they touched him. The gods then conceded he had a right to boast of his skill.

Pakula

The story of Pakula illustrates the dangers besetting the bonito fishing canoe. Pakula lived five generations after the [181] seismic wave. An interesting example of cultural psychology is the first remark of Pakula on escaping death and safely landing on Motu Kotawa. The implication clearly is: now we have been saved from death, we can get back to the real business of living once more.

Pakula was a man of Matanga lineage. He was charged with fishing for the group of old men. He and his crew went fishing one day. Coming back to the reef the waves were breaking so furiously that his crew were afraid to attempt the passage. Pakula poked fun at their fears and the canoe was sent whirling onward. Overtaken by a wave, the canoe was smashed and the men thrown into the water. Then was the time for the crew to taunt Pakula for his rashness.

539 The men were afraid of being eaten by sharks but Pakula calmed them and handed to each his death gift of a bonito hook that none might die alone. (12) Four men swam to Motu Kotawa but Pakula and Patutua drifted for two nights at sea. Finally they were seen by their god Ngaliyeyeu who pulled them towards Motu Kotawa. They stood on the shore and Pakula boasted: "Now to copulate with the vagina! " For three nights these two stayed on the reserve, eating to regain their strength. Then they returned to Wale where their lineage made a big feast for them that they might be fat enough to stand outside their houses as before, shamed by no one.

Of Malangatiale

[538] The story of Malangatiale and Wenuku is a popular Pukapukan tale. These two men were members of the same birth class and of the fishing group (tanganga) which fished each day for the old men's group. The account below relates that Malangatiale was punished for assuming status above the leader of his birth class. Another version states the quarrel arose over the catching of turtles because Malangatiale disobeyed his leader and caught the easy female turtle, leaving his friend the dangerous male turtle.

Malangatiale and Wenuku were born in the same year but Wenuku was the first-born of their common birth class. Each was the captain of a canoe fishing for the old men. One day both canoes went to sea, Malangatiale going to the west, Wenuku to the east. The canoes met again opposite the place called Tua-o-te-mumu. Here they saw turtles and caught a pair. Malangatiale and Wenuku quarrelled with each other each insisting that the turtles be loaded on his own canoe, though Wenuku, being the senior born had the right to command. and Malangatiale was boldly setting himself ahead of

[766] 12. One of the responsibilities of the captain of a deep sea fishing canoe is that of providing for each of his crew a death gift, should the lives of the crew be endangered by the canoe's capsizing or wreckage. Just as on land, no funeral wake is complete without the presentation of friendly gifts to the corpse, gifts which were formerly buried with the body, so in case of death at sea, this is made more bearable by the thought that none will die without his death gift.

539 his older friend. Suddenly a flash of lightning came and Malangatiale was struck dead. (13)

When the crews recovered from their fright they laid out Malangatiale nicely on his canoe and chanted their way over the eastern sea to Motu Ko. Here they gathered floral decorations of plants, ferns and creepers, wrapping Malangatiale in the greenery. They made smooth a place on the outrigger booms and laid the dead body down. Launching the canoes once more the crews chanted their way back to the reef passage and through the lagoon channels. Their bowmen stood and flashed their wet paddles in the sunlight. The people on shore watched intently, wondering and waiting. Then when the canoes, dark with greenery, were beached, the landshells buzzed with the news. The people were told of the sin of quarreling for which Malangatiale died. They took his body and buried him in the cemetery of his paternal lineage.

Kui and his Heirs

538 The stories of Kui, Uyo, Waletiale, and Te Wai are
773 connected in that Kui is supposed to be the progenitor whether spiritual or physical is not clear--of the other three semi-culture heroes. It was Kui who performed the test of lifting all the leaves from the prone body of the chief Kamola [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 240-242, category 773 or 116--analyst.] His feat demonstrated that he was a man of supernormal powers who should therefore be exiled from the atoll. Accordingly he was asked to build a canoe and sail away to the western horizon. The story of his further adventures follows:

539 Kui left Pukapuka in a single outrigger canoe with his two sons, Matiku-uli (Black-heron) and Matiku-kena (White-heron). The three sailed westward over the wide ocean for a long time, for so long that the outrigger rotted from being so long in the sea and separated from the crossbooms. The canoe capsized. The three were thrown into the water, but Kui took the boom and the mast, lashed the sail vertically to his left shoulder, and the mast vertically to his right shoulder. Matiku-uli perched on the right-shoulder mast, and Matiku-kena perched on the left shoulder as Kui swam. He swam for so long that Matiku-uli died of thirst and hunger. Kui embraced the boy and let him fall into the sea. Kui kept on swimming.

13. Malangatiale later became an ancestor god by the mechanism noted in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 313-314, category 116--analyst].

539 Later his other son also died. Kui embraced him too and dropped him into the water.

Kui swam on. His wake was like the sea breaking on the reef, so powerful and fast a swimmer was he. He was in the water so long that coral rocks, barnacles, and seaweeds grew over his body, starting first on his legs, spreading up his body, and finally covering his head. He finally became so heavy that he dropped to the bottom of the sea. He was rolled along on the bottom of the ocean, until at last he was thrown up on the reef at Apia in Samoa. Though he looked like a big piece of coral, a living and breathing body was within.

The people of Samoa were at this time preparing for a great feast, and all the ovens were full of food. Kui rested until sunset. Then he awoke and decided to go ashore from the reef. He was too heavy to walk, so he rolled himself along. When he got to land, he visited all the ovens in turn, stealing food from each while the people slept. People came along and found the ovens tampered with, but all they saw was a coral stone lying by and, of course, they took no notice of this. From day to day Kui visited the ovens, stealing food regularly. One day a young girl came along the reef looking for fish. She noticed a big rock on the reef and, looking closer, saw that the rock was swelling in gentle movements, as if breathing. Sure of this, she went ashore and raised the alarm: "Yamoa e, teia la te kata ya wuke a tatou imu" (People of Samoa, this is the brute that has opened our ovens). The people gathered on the reef. They saw the breathing stone and carried it to the meeting place where they discussed what to do with it. They decided to build a big oven. The people gathered wood, coconut husks, and the like for the fire. When the huge oven was heated, they threw Kui in. As the coral got hot it melted from Kui's body, dropped off; thus Kui himself was exposed to the heat and died. His soul left his body and went about Samoa killing many Samoans in revenge for his death. Then his soul went back to Pukapuka. Kui landed on the reef off the reserve of Niua. He was met by the god Te Mangamanga, who tried to turn him back to the sea. But Kui wrestled with Te Mangamanga and threw him on a sea urchin so that Te Mangamanga admitted defeat. Then Kui went through the villages challenging all the other gods to wrestle with him. He passed by the place Lowia, in Uta, in the form of a blazing fire. When the gods who were gathered there saw him, they were afraid and threw over themselves a net of invisibility. Kui passed on to the place where Te Auta-pule lived. The two gods wrestled and again

539 Kui was victorious. At the place Te Longalau, Kui met the god Malangatiale. (14)

Kui was in the form of a blazing fire, Malangatiale in the form of lightning. Kui called out, "Awi! " (fire), and Malangatiale shouted the same word in reply. Kui called out, "Ula! " (red), and again Malangatiale repeated the same word. Kui called out, "Awu! " (hot), and Malangatiale repeated the word. At every interchange each god flashed like lightning or blazed like fire in order to intimidate his opponent. They continued: Kui called out "Punga" (coral or meteor), and Malangatiale repeated the word. Then the two gods imitated the sounds of the tuli bird and the kawe, sea bird. At last they were close enough to grapple with each other. Three times they struggled back and forward between taro beds and lagoon beach, but neither was strong enough to conquer the other. At length they decided to become friends. It is said that their spirit was in every strong human being born in Pukapuka thereafter. Such a man was said to have na vave a Kui (the strengths of Kui). Kui became a god of Yangalipule, a lineage which produced many strong men.

Besides the three men of the stories below, the chief Kuluea also derived supernatural powers from Kui [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 381-383, category 539 or 116--analyst].

Uyo was a warrior. He gathered together a group of men and persuaded them to go with him to Motu Kotawa to live. Though Kotawa was sacred to Mataliki, Uyo trusted in his powers to save him from the dangers of breaking the tapu, and he knew his strength would save him from mortal danger. One of his followers was Te Pou.

On going across to the island, Uyo sent his followers to walk round by way of the connecting reef while he went on his own way. Uyo was a great jumper. Going by the reef he saw a shoal of fish in the lagoon. Taking his great seine net (kupenga uka yali lawi) 50 yards long, in his hands, he jumped from the reef onto the shoal of fish and caught many. Then he jumped from the eastern to the western reef across the lagoon, carrying his net and the fish as well. Arriving thus at

14. The god Malangatiale with whom Kui fought this drawn contest is the same individual whose accidental death is mentioned in the previous story.

539 Kotawa, he made a fire by rubbing his finger on a piece of puapua wood, built an oven, and put the fish on to cook. To get some nuts, he took a tree in his hand, shook it, and the nuts fall to the ground. Those nuts that hit his head broke in two. He husked the nuts by using his finger for a husking stick. Much later his men arrived on Kotawa, hungry after their walk around over the reef. The men decided to get food, but Uyo told them that the food was already cooked and opened the oven for them. For many days Uyo and his men lived thus on Kotawa, fishing and eating the nuts until, at last, the people on Wale became angry at the loss of so much food. They went to Kuluea, the chief, and asked him to repair matters. Kuluea consulted his god.

Now, Te Pou on Kotawa was a man possessed with the power of double sight. While on Kotawa he could see with his inner eye all that was happening on Wale, and, as if in a dream state, Te Pou told his friends on Kotawa all that he saw: Kuluea consulting his gods, the meetings of the people, men preparing their war malo, preparing canoes, and getting ready to fight. But his friends refused to take notice of Te Pou, saying he was having a nightmare and laughing at him. Still Te Pou talked in his vision, saying the people were leaving Wale, mentioning all the places in the lagoon that the canoes were passing in turn, and saying at last that the people had come to the landing place at Kotawa. But the men paid no attention to him and went on with their eating and sleeping. At last the people of Wale landed and, shouting "Manava Pukapuka i---, a---", as their canoes touched the beach, rushed forward. Te Pou then said to his friends, "I have warned you of this but you have believed me not." In fact, Kuluea had prayed to Taua, and Taua had made the man crazy (wakavavale or neneva).

A fight occurred. Two men of Wale were killed as they rushed after the Kotawa men, both Wale men having their skulls shattered by being knocked against coconut trees by the fingers of the superman. But all the Kotawa men were killed, all save Te Pou, who was reckoned a good man who had gone with the others to Kotawa against his will. Te Pou would collect the husks of nuts and cover them in the ground while the others would throw theirs carelessly on the ground. Therefore his life was spared. Uyo was killed thus: the men of Wale came up to him and found him paralyzed in body by the gods. But even so, all the men of Wale, even Kuluea, held back from him in fear of his supernormal strength. But Kuluea summoned courage, went up to Uyo, and thrust at him

539 with his spear. The spear rebounded from the tough skin without making a dint in it. Kuluea hit him on his head with a club, but Uyo blinked not even an eyelid, and the club was shattered in Kuluea's hands. Kuluea took an especially strong spear and thrust it through Uyo's eyeball, but the eyelids closing broke the spear off short and still Uyo was unhurt. Then Uyo, in his god-made craziness, spoke, "It is impossible to kill me by ordinary means. But if you lift up my arms, you will find in my armpit a big boil ready to burst." The men did this, and through the boil, also sent by Taua, Kuluea thrust his spear which penetrated to a vital part and killed Uyo. Then the men, curious as to Uyo's powers, opened his body and found there, instead of two livers (ate), eight livers; and to this abnormality is attributed his great jumping powers. Uyo was buried on Kotawa, and even to this day is seen the imprint in the rock, called Te Vae-o-Uyo, where one foot of Uyo landed after his jump from reef to reef. All the men went back to Wale, taking Te Pou with them. Later on when Kuluea had to face the danger of the Tongalelevan invasion, he said, "I am sorry I had to kill my comrade. His help is sorely needed at the present time to fight these giant people."

Waletiale, the second of the warriors with the strength of Kui, was a man of gigantic stature, who decided to start in Pukapuka a copulation group on the Yayake model.

Waletiale was a man so strong that he was like the supports of the island. He gathered about him a group of tall, handsome men at the place called Te Nau-o-te-tupua. When the women merely came to their sides, their penises stood erect and ripped off their malos. Waletiale announced the formation of his group to the women and invited them to visit him frequently. The women came first by pairs, then in a stampede. Some disliked, others were pleased by, the strength and vigor of the men. The single and the married women all went to Waletiale, so that the houses were deserted. The married women were particularly thrilled and their husbands saw them no more.

For many months their husbands waited. Their penises were yellow as slime from masturbating. They wilted with unsatisfied desire. As long as Waletiale stood guard over his meeting place the men were afraid to venture near in case they might be killed. They went to complain to the high chief of the island, to Kuluea. Kuluea was indifferent at first, being also afraid of Waletiale, but later he consented to pray to his goddess Taua, asking her advice in the matter. This was his invocation to Taua: "O Taua, press the bones of Waletiale

539 and his men so that they are weak. Pierce their minds with your power so that they are unconscious, so that they are stupified, so that their eyes can only stare! "

Taua gave a favorable answer to this petition so Kuluea and the men dug two deep holes close to Waletiale's place and stuck in each of the holes a long husking stick. They went to Waletiale and his men. Their eyes could only stare and they were stupified, flopping about like fish full of roe. Beginning with Waletiale, Kuluea picked up the men one by one and transfixed them on the point of the husking sticks. When one hole was full of speared men, Kuluea started with the other hole. When both were full, sand was thrown on top and thus the group of Waletiale was finished.

The last story of an heir of Kui concerns a quarrel between two paternal lineages of the village of Loto over the division of turtle meat.

Yangalipule and Tua are the two lineages of Loto. Tua went fishing bonito, Yangalipule went to catch turtle. In the subsequent division of food, men of Tua received no turtle flesh because men of Yangalipule ate all the flesh in secret. Tua decided to kill the men of the other lineage for this stinginess. One group of men they buried alive.

Now one Yangalipule man named Te Wai was a skilled diver and underwater swimmer. He was a specialist in catching turtles. The many men caught Te Wai and buried him at the bottom of a deep hole. On the third night Tua men were amazed to find Te Wai appear from the hole. They caught him again, wrapped him in a mat, tied him tight with an anchor rope to which was fastened a heavy rock, and then dropped him far out to sea.

On the fourth night, Tua men were again amazed to hear Te Wai shouting that he was not dead. This time, to make sure, Tua strangled him by fastening a rope round his neck and not burying him until they were sure he was dead.

Now the reason that Te Wai was hard to kill was because he shared the strength of Kui. Thus he had a long wind. Just as Kui lived below the water for a long time when he was turned into a piece of coral, so could Te Wai live when buried under the earth or sunk under the sea. The strength of Kui, man of Yangalipule, was passed on to other men of this same lineage.

Stories about food

538 Two stories center about food. They are of interest because they help to explain a popular saying about a person dissatisfied with his share in a food division and also because they mention

538 still more islands of the western Pacific with which Pukapukans were familiar.

The first story is about the chief of Yayake, Tuyiyauola, whose power to fascinate women from afar has already been noted [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 381, category 539 or 116--analyst].

539 Yele was the daughter of the chief of the land of Uea (Uvea?). Tuyiyauola fell in love with her and sent one of his pet whales to Uea to fetch her back to Yayake. The whale arrived at Uea, and Yele and all her attendants embarked on its back. Going to Yayake from Uea, the whale had to pass by Pukapuka. It did not stop at Pukapuka, but a man named Nalewu, who was guard on Ko, saw the whale going with all the people on it, and was so surprised that he swam out to find out all about them. He joined the party and never came back to Pukapuka. At some islands on the voyage the whale stopped and the people went ashore, but so many were they that they soon ate up all the food. Even though they cut pieces off the back of the whale to eat, Yele was never satisfied but was always complaining and asking for more food. She was kaitangi, never satisfied with her share of food, whether whale flesh or vegetable food. Hence the saying to a person who is dissatisfied: "Wano koe au mai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share of Yele); the implication being that even if the greedy one had as big food shares as Yele, he would still be dissatisfied.

The final story is a short account of the travels around the western Pacific of a canoe called Te Takapau of the Moyoaliki. Nothing is known about the canoe crew, except that they wished to sample the foods of the other islands of the ocean. The only island where they were unable to eat up all the food was Uea.

The crew of the canoe called Te Takapau-a-te-moyoaliki sailed to Tokelau islands, to the Alolai group, to Samoa and next to Witi. At each of these places they accepted welcome and stayed to eat the food provided them. So hungry were the crew, however, that they ate until the ground stood bare. When the people of Witi searched for their food, they found it had all been stolen and eaten by the Pukapukans. So angry were they that the frightened crew sailed off in great hurry. At last they came to the island of Uea. Here they landed and began to eat. But so plentiful was the food in this place that they could not come to the end of it no matter how much they stuffed themselves. Like the whale of the Yayake chief Tuyiyauola which was always the same no matter how much

539 flesh was cut from it for food, the land of Uea had food supplies that increased with its eating. The crew composed this chant about Uea which is remembered to this day:

> Uea is a land of food,
> We stayed there, as in other islands,
> Persistent to the last like Lua-tulivae. (15)
> Stayed there we of the canoe Te Takapau-o-
> te-Moyoaliki,
> We could not finish the food of Uea!

Stories of Voyaging

538
181 The life of the Pukapukan is inevitably bound up with the sea. It surrounds him at all times. From it he draws much of his food. Over it he gained a measure of control in former times by the worshipping of his gods. On it he voyaged to many distant islands. It is just as inevitable therefore that stories telling of the adventures of voyaging Pukapukans should be popular, especially if they have a humorous appeal.

Of Welei

The account of this voyage is both improbable and characteristically very human according to Pukapukan standards. It was told in all seriousness by informants in sessions devoted to traditional and historical accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka.

539 Welei was a man of Yato village. His chief activity was the nightly seeking of women. But the women rejected his advances. When he moved to their sides they spat on him and kicked him away. Welei was also a priest, and his god was ashamed that his worshipper was treated thus. The god told Welei that if he persisted in his desire for women then he should climb into the god's coconut leaflet canoe. Welei did this and was transported to Nuku-mautole (Island-of-many-vulvas).

This land was inhabited by women only. The foot of Welei had hardly stepped on shore when the women rushed for him. They piled on top of him, five women on each foot, then women on each finger, eight each on his nose and ears and

15. The reference to Lua-tulivae in this chant is somewhat obscure. The story of Lua-tulivae is given earlier. As this individual persistently made his way through all of nine fires before he was safely dead, so apparently did the crew of this canoe show stubborn determination in their attack on the food supplies of the island.

539 lower back. His skin was smeared by their vulvas. They covered his nostrils. Welei stank. He could not tolerate the smell of vulvas. His god taunted him that his desire for women had subsided. Then the women chased him away, but because his nostrils were still blocked he soon died. His god was quite indifferent to his fate. "The child has got what he deserved", he said, and that was the end of Welei. They made this bit of verse about him:

Crowded below like Welei,
Stepped on by the many,
Stepped on by the thousand,
Crowded on top by the women
Who bite the good of man!

Of Yawau

Yawau was a man of Yamaunga lineage. This lineage went one night to fish Ruvettus. Ten fish were caught and brought back to the meeting place for division, which was close to the sacred worshipping house of the lineage. The priests in this house received their share, Yawau among them. Sitting on his sacred seat within the house, Yawau finished completely the tail portion of his fish.

Then Yawau went on with his chanting to the gods. There was a stirring through his back and frequent flatulence. Unawares, he suddenly began to excrete the fat of the fish. The priests behind poked him in the back and drew attention to the fact that his seat was dirty. At first he thought his friends were joking, then he was dumbfounded, ashamed.

A personal shame developed for Yawau. He was continually being teased by the children. He could stand the thrusts no more and prepared his voyaging canoes. He reached first the Tokelau islands, but when he landed the people greeted him with his shame. Again in Samoa, in the islands of Witi, in all the islands to the south, people knew his reputation. At last Yawau came to Kapiti-te-wue. The people did not know of him and his scandal was lost. Yawau rested here happily, married, and raised a family.

Of Wue

Wue was both chief of Yangalipule lineage and supreme chief of the island. He planned to sail to all the islands of the east and then to all the islands of the west. He built and provisioned his double canoe, gathered together the men of his lineage and his two sons and set forth. First he visited

539 Manihiki, then he went on to Rakahanga. At this place the people were playing at swings. Wue was contemptuous of the game, saying that in Pukapuka only children played with swings. In the evening the people left their swings hanging from the trees. Wue came secretly by night, cut down the swings, placed them in his canoe and sailed away with his treasure. At the next island the people were playing jackstones with Conus shells. Again the people were fooled by Wue's words when he said that only Pukapukan children played such games. As before, Wue gather the shells when the people went to sleep and sailed away.

At other islands and by similar tricks, Wue learned the game of juggling with immature coconuts, various hopping and kicking games. In Yiva and Yake Wue managed to cut the anchor ropes of fishing canoes deserted when a squall interrupted a fishing contest and thus stole long lengths of rope. On the island of Wakalava, the people were playing the game of disc-throwing (tupe). By a trick Wue learned the game, then stole away with all the discs used in the game. On the island of Yavake Wue visited the famous copulating places of which people who had gone before had told him. The Yayake men were proud of these institutions but Wue remarked that they were but mediocre compared with the copulating clubs of Pukapuka. In the island of Motulau the people possesed a feather which turned the whole body red if placed in the mouth. Wue desired this feather to take home but no matter what his words, the people were unimpressed and would not allow Wue to lay hands on the precious object.

Wue sailed to the islands to the southwest. He visited Tonga, Samoa, Witi, Witi-lewu, Witi-lelelele. On this last island he left one of his sons to settle. Wue was overwhelmed by the number of islands in the west. He could not visit them all so many were there. He returned through the Tokelau islands and arrived again at Pukapuka. He told of his journey, of the people, of their doings and the games he brought back with him.

Additional material on these voyages of Wue is found in variant accounts. It is related that the islands of Yiva and Yake were close together. They were separated by a narrow channel so that a fishing canoe might throw one anchor on one island and another anchor on the other island, thus remaining securely anchored in mid-channel. A fishing contest was in progress when Wue arrived, and Wue anchored close to the fishing fleet watching the people enjoy themselves at swimming, diving, and playing in the water of the channel after the fishing

539 was finished for the day. When the strong wind broke up the fishing fleet, Wue was better able to ride out the storm in his big canoe, and he profited by the dispersal of the other canoes to take with him as he sailed out to sea, all the fish and anchor lines that the Yiva people left behind them.

A man named Vailaki, whom Wue met on Wakalava, is remembered as a Samoan who built a plank canoe from a single large *wetau* tree. He sailed to many islands from Samoa, exhibiting his canoe to the people, and came on to Pukapuka from Wakalava. When he left to go back to Samoa, one of his crew, a man named Pokena, decided to stay on Pukapuka. Vailaki sailed without him, but Pokena soon died on Pukapuka without leaving issue.

Little more is known of the magical red feather that Wue saw on the islands of Motulau, said to be a group of many islands close together. When the feather was put in the mouth it turned the whole body a deep rich red color; when the feather was removed the body turned brown again. Wue asked three times for this feather, but the people of Motulau valued it too highly to allow him to take it. Wue evidently could think of no stratagem this time so he had to leave, bringing back to Pukapuka only a memory of the tantalizing feather.

Te Palo comes to Pukapuka

Te Palo, the Yayake warrior who fought with Te Nana, visited Pukapuka on a journey from Yayake which also led him to stop at Nassau Island. (16)

Te Palo's journey from Yayake to Nassau and Pukapuka was a journey of woman-seeking. He arrived on Wale in the middle of the night, quietly beached his canoe and then went in secret to scratch the women in all the houses. By daylight he was afloat again and drifted down to Nassau. Three times he came thus to Wale.

The married men soon began to notice that their wives were scratched and striped on the cheeks and breasts. They began to inquire one of the other as to the reason for this. At last some of the women whose cheeks were not scratched, being jealous of the good fortune of the married women, told of the night-visiting canoe. During the night the men waited and spied on the visiting Te Palo. Te Palo was seized and angrily charged with being the cause of the scratching. Quite unabashed

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16. The atoll of Nassau is 42 miles southeast of Pukapuka.

539 Te Palo answered, "There is nothing to it. My comings were only comings to scratch your women who are so nicely established with you men here. Are you going to get angry over a mere nothing?" Under this calm reasoning, the ideas that had angered the men subsided.

Te Palo remained on Wale for one day. For his journey back to Nassau the island prepared two huge taro puddings. The voyager set sail and almost immediately opened his smoking hot puddings to eat. So great, however, was the speed of his canoe that he arrived in Nassau before the puddings had sufficiently cooled to taste. Similarly on a return trip from Nassau to Wale, Te Palo's wife who was with him in the canoe, arose from her seat to watch the waters curling past the bow. She overbalanced and fell into the sea. Te Palo made a grab at her but she was already far out of reach so fast was the canoe.

During this visit to Pukapuka Te Palo took the opportunity to inspect the land. He was greatly impressed with the quantity and size of the taro growing in the reserve of Uta. His words of praise are remembered to this day: "To look at this place here makes me realize that the taro beds of Yayake are only big enough to be devoured by the small plover bird!

During all this journeying, Te Palo's sail had become torn to bits by the heavy winds. He laid it out at the place called Pingalu behing Ngake village and set to work to sew the rent places. One of his sailors brought him his favorite needle, made from the bone of the man-eater Malele, killed by Te Palo in Yayake. Unmindful of the fact that the use of human bone for any purpose was tapu on Pukapuka and that the breaking of this tapu would be punished by the goddes Taua, Te Palo went ahead with his task. Soon he felt his arm paining him, then he realized that there was a tumor growing in his armpit. This was the punishment sent by Taua. Te Palo immediately sailed away from Pukapuka, back to his homeland of Yayake.

Of The Tini

Another legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka concerns the activities of a group of Pukapukan people called The Tini:

The Tini were a group of people from the three villages of Pukapuka who used to go frequently to Nassau, spending their time on this island at fishing and playing at water sports. The group would fish for flying fish at night and then spend

539 the day diving and swimming in the reef channel.

Arriving one day at Nassau, The Tini found the reef channel blocked with a heavy rock placed there by the gods. The men tried to move this rock because it made the passage over the reef one of considerable danger. They were unable to budge it so they suggested that Kuialaloa, a Ngake man, son of Tautuna, should try his strength. Kuialaloa dived, struck the rock with his foot. The stone slid to the side of the channel. On a later day The Tini returned to Nassau to find the stone back in the channel and again Kuialaloa moved it with ease.(17)

During the excitement of the water sports played on this occasion, The Tini noticed that one of their company, a man named Te Ie, was missing. The men dived and searched under water until they found the body. They brought it to land and prepared a large double canoe with a huge sail in which they wished to transport the body of Te Ie back to Pukapuka for burial. The sail was fastened to the mast and the men tried to lift the mast upright so that it could be placed in the canoe and lashed to the cross booms. The mast and sail together were so heavy that the united strength of all the men could not budge it. Just then Te Kalele, a champion of the group and one who had been visiting inland, came back to the beach. He took hold of the mast with one hand and easily inserted it into the hull of the canoe. The group sailed back to Pukapuka. They decided not to go again to Nassau but instead to start a place of copulation on Wale. Of this company was the woman Wanguna whose magical powers and nymphomaniac tendencies were directly responsible for the island-wide disregard of the tapus that resulted in a catastrophic tidal wave.

[133] 17. This rock, moved twice by Kuialaloa, still partially blocks the reef channel on Nassau Island to this day. Shooting the reef at this point, the only channel on the leeward side of the island, is hazardous even with a moderate sea.

Chants

Types

533 The general word for a chant is mako; to chant is ta mako. Various types of chants are distinguished and sung on specific occasions. A kupu is a love chant, composed by a young man for his mistress during the period of courtship or by a husband for his wife after marriage; alternately, a kupu may be composed and sung by a woman for her lover. To compose a love chant is watu kupu, the primary meaning of which is to plait together the elements in mat making; the symbolism involved is that lovers are joined together in a chant as elements are united in plaiting. A tangi is a lament composed before death by an individual for himself, or else quickly composed by his relatives after his death, and sung over the corpse, along with other chants associated with the deceased. If a person dies an unnatural accidental death, then a short chant called yiva is composed for him as a sort of memorial, added to the specific tangi, to indicate the regrettable nature of his death. The pinga is a type of love chant which is composed in the Underworld by a dead lover, who returns in a dream to his living mate and teaches him the chant. Composing a pinga may be a way of getting round the situation where a lover has died without composing a love chant; the vanity of the mistress is humored by the fiction that the lover returns from the Underworld with his love chant composed. A fourth type of chant about individuals is the tangitangi which is a song of boasting sung by a person in praise of his own skills and abilities: a man sings of his skill as a fisherman or maker of hooks, a woman of her ability in talo cultivation or mat making.

533 Certain chants are composed and sung by groups. Short
526 chants composed to celebrate the triumph of a village in
578 wrestling contests are named tila, unu, tili, yoni, lapa, tipa,
621 yioyio, and vilo. They are sung by the village group after their
wrestler has thrown an opponent from another village. Informants suggested that the symbolism of the name tila, which means also the mast of a canoe, is that the chanting group thinks of itself as a mast bearing a big spread of sail against a heavy wind; just as the mast steadfastly carries the sail, so does the village group remain steadfast against the weight and strength of the opponent's attack. Informants felt that the name unu was derived from the sacred stone representing the god on the religious enclosure; just as this stone abides forever, so does the strength of the group stand against the opposition. The unu insults and taunts the opponent, the tila

533 is more a glorification of the village powers, insulting the
526 defeated group only by implication. The yoni is a chant of
578 triumph over the strangling (yoni) or defeating of the opponent's
621 efforts. The tili is a song of insult cast (tili) in the direction
of the defeated opponents. The lapa flashes (lapa) insults at
the opponent's group. A tipa is so short that it is sung "at a
turn (tipa)", to emphasize previous insults. A yioyio likens
the strength of a village to a waterspout (yioyio); the village
overcomes opposition just as a waterspout at sea overcomes
a canoe. A vilo is a chant sung to accompany circular dance
movements (vilo).

533 Chants sung at other sports contests are called lalau,
526 wakatapatapa, vaitili, moi, and tila yoka yakali. A lalau is
a chant celebrating the success of a village in an intervillage
fishing contest, or of a village member in an individual reef
angling fishing contest. A lalau is sometimes also called a
kupu tutuki, kupu here having the meaning of a chant, and
tutuki, a struggle. The wakatapatapa and the vaitili are
boasting songs which glorify fishing triumphs. The name
moi is derived from the moi fish, which never leaves the
shoal, but circles round and round in closely packed schools,
and is applied to a chant sung to the cirling movements of a
dance performed after triumphs in general sporting contests.
The tila yoka yakali is the type of tila sung by the village
winning coconut husking contests. Other tila still are boasting
chants, sung on sports occasions to glorify exclusive possessions of one village. The final type of chant represented in
the collection is the mako tili (or tilitili) koua sung to give
rhythm in the game of juggling (tilitili) immature coconuts
(koua).

533 The name wakatapatapa applies also to a type of chant in
which the singer recites the genealogy of his paternal descent
line in order magically to render his task easier. A man
may call thus on the names of his ancestors to insure that
a big fish he is hauling up will not escape from his hook.
In sporting contests, the friends of a contestant may recite
his genealogies as the man wrestles or throws a spear in
order to ensure his success. Again, an expert may
wakatapatapa while he is engaged in craft activities. Finally
a man may recite genealogies at the marriage of his daughter
merely to laud himself and his daughter by naming a long
line of distinguished ancestors.

Composition

To compose a chant is also termed ta mako. Any man or

533 women may make a chant. A man who believes that he possesses superior strength or abilities at fishing or craft activities may compose a chant to celebrate his own life and skill, or he may commission another more skilled in the art of composition to compose one for him. The expert (tangata watu mako) sets to work, consults the subject of the chant over incidents and imagery to be incorporated, and then submits the chant during the course of composition for the subject's approval. Though he expects no payment for executing the commission, the expert might be remembered with a special food division on some later occasion. The subject practices the chant and teaches it to his relatives, who will chant it over his body when he dies. A woman may similarly compose or commission a chant about herself. The lover composing a love chant sets out to learn of his mate's special abilities and characteristics and works these into the chant
[613] by metaphorical comparison with natural phenomena. If circumstances permit, he praises her paternal lineage, stressing the remarkable history and powers of her ancestors. That this type of compliment is rare in the chants, however, is corollary evidence that the average Pukapukan did not indulge in and was not greatly interested in glorifying the family line. It was sufficient for him to remember this line, without glorifying it. The lover taught his chant to his mate who in turn taught it to her relatives. Rarely would it be sung publicly, but it would be especially remembered at her death and sung over her body. No specific information was secured about love songs composed to glorify a woman in a strict cousin-in-avoidance relation (wale atua) to the composer, but it is likely that a cousin would compose such a song, keep it secret, and then sing it over the corpse of his cousin. Because of the special license accorded the reciprocal cousin-in-avoidance at these times, any impropriety in his chanting would be passed over in the general stress of emotion centering round the death.

Chants of group glorification commemorating events of interest to a paternal lineage or to a village, are composed by a commissioned or volunteer expert or group of collaborators. The chants are then submitted to the village men in meeting who go over them in detail, add or delete material until they are sufficiently polished and expressive, and finally commit them to memory. When several men participate in the composition of a chant, they do not consider it necessary to harmonize the finished product and make the references consistent. The result is that pronominal reference, for instance, 533 is not always clear or consistent. Thus the *lalau*, *Wakaoli io koe*, (see page 126) was composed by the subject Lialo, assisted by friends. A happy phrase suggested by a friend in the second person, addressing Lialo, is incorporated verbatim. Phrases suggested by Lialo himself are naturally in the first person. Though in extreme cases, the pronouns chop and change with great frequency, informants saw no cause for confusion. In line 1 of the *lalau*, the phrasing, "Wakaoli io koe", dance out you, was suggested by a friend; the phrase in line 3, "Akaanowia oku tino manu", cool my body birdlike, was obviously formulated by Lialo himself. These examples could be duplicated in many of the chants collected. They show that a certain consistency of craftmanship in these matters was of no value or interest. They also illustrate one of the pitfalls which makes the translation of such chants no easy matter.

Analysis

Structural analysis indicates that any chant is composed of an arbitrary number of sections or phrases (*yikunga*) of varying length, each unified within itself by meaning. The very short chants may consist of but one or two sections. Each section is divided into three minor sections, a first, the *uyunga pu yikunga*, a middle, the *lolotonu pu yikunga*, and the end sections, the *yiku pu yikunga*. These subsections mark off pauses, a fresh breath being taken at the end of each; they also serve to break up the meaning of the total phrase (*yikunga*) into several minor meaning units. I do not think that a chant is composed with these divisions and subdivisions clearly outlined in the mind of the composer. They represent a pattern of composition that is more subconsciously rather than consciously followed.

Another structural device is the *wakamaunga*, which consists of one or more sections and serves as a general introductory statement to the main chant. In the elaborate cycle of chants making up the Tamanu series two long *wakamaunga* preface the three main chants. But these *wakamaunga* were so long that it was necessary to add an introduction to the introductions; this explains the first section of the Tamanu called *uyunga*. *Wakamaunga* of more moderate length are those attached to *the kupu malama*: "Na yayae to matokatolu" and to the *lalau*: "Akaolia tukia ki te vaka" (see page 132). A second introductory device is the *lolominga*, a short set of phrases which adds material not incorporated in the main chant. This use of the *lolominga* is illustrated in the *lalau*: "Wakaoli io koe"

533 (see page 126). A lolominga may be sufficiently long to stand on its own; it is then not different from a short love chant. A lolominga of this type is the chant: "Yitiki ki te uka mai lunga" (see page 106), which is the elaborate development of a metaphorical comparison between a woman and a canoe.

Meter

The general characteristics that distinguish the chanting of different chants are termed tanga (from ta, to chant.) This may be roughly, though incorrectly, translated as meter. It may include meter, but in general the meter of a chant refers also to its pitch, volume, speed, and accent. The chanting depends for its musical quality upon rhythm obtained through accent and sometimes meter, through crescendo and diminuendo of volume, raising and lowering of pitch, acceleration and decrease of speed of chanting. In terms of these characteristics informants distinguished the following types of chanting: ta wakatato, fast, pitch low; ta wakateka, fast, but voice a semi-falsetto; ta wakatoto, a fast falsetto, considered appropriate to the expression of grief; ta wakatokotoko, the pitch moves up and down frequently in sharp changes of emphasis, with crescendo and dimuendo of the voice; ta wakamotumotu, characterized by sharp changes of pitch, starting with an emphatic low, then raised to a high pitch which is held for several beats, then dropped to the previous low; ta wakaleka, an even flow of sound with voice on the same pitch; ta ki lunga, the voice is kept at semi-falsetto pitch throughout the chant. A further type is ta waka e e, so called because of the frequent, long accented e sounds occurring throughout the chant.

One informant made a hesitant, but not absolutely successful attempt to base some of the distinction between different tanga on metrical considerations. According to him a meter which alternates notes, long-short, long-short, is termed ta wakatokutoku. His metrical version of one chant is presented below. Beyond this, however, he could not present any further consistent distinction, save one in terms of relative smoothness as against choppiness of recitation, or calm as against excited chanting. Perhaps in ta wakamayangi, a meter may be established. This is the rhythm for the juggling chants which accompany the throwing of the articles into the air. It is a slow even flow of sounds in rhythm to the even throwing. It is evident that formal meter is not an intergral part of Pukapukan chanting. Meter is of course present in all the chants but it is not harmonized into a consistent system that can be named and used. It may be noted that accent is of great importance in chanting. It falls with the length, but is

533 often false accent in order to establish a necessary felt rhythm to the chant as a whole.

It is customary to chant most of the chants, especially the shorter ones, three times in succession. The first time, the chanting is slow and soft; the second time, speed and volume are increased; the third time, the chanting is loud, very fast and excited. Of many individual peculiarities in chanting, one particularly noted was the tendency of Pau to reduce all his e and o sounds to one sound equivalent to the English a (as in cat), an unusual Polynesian sound. Like that of other men, Pau's chanting is very guttural and deep throated save when it rises to falsetto.

The following metrical analysis of a tila inidicates the changes of accent, and pitch involved in one chant. Symbols used are: —, for a long vowel; –, a half long; . , a short vowel; ″ , a strong accent; ′ , medium accent; ↓ , low pitch; ↑ , high pitch; no mark indicates a middle pitch. The tanga of lines 1 to 10 is ta waka e e; 11 to 15 are ta wakatokutoku. The long-short meter is continued for half of lines 16, 17, 18 the remainder of these lines consisting of short vowels. The tanga of the rest of the chant is ta wakatato.

533
539 1. Tu, tu i Yayake nui, e , e, e, te tawito niu loa.
—″ – . . .′ . –. —′— — . .″ . . . .′.
↓________________________________

2. Wenake, wenake, wenake, e, e, pa i te langi nei.
.″ . — –′ . . –′ . . — — – . . . . .′
↓________________________________

3. E kai mamulemule; e kai payekeyeke.
. .′ — . . . . . .′ — . . . .
↓ ↓ ↑__________ ↓ ↓ ↑________

4. Angi, angi mai te matangi nei; lulu ia te ulu wenua:
— — –″ . . . .′ . . .′ — — –. . .′ . .′ . .
↑ ↑ ↓____________________________

5. Ngalepe ki ko, ngalepe kiai.
. .′ . . .′ . .′ . . .′
↓ ↑ ↓ ↑

6. Pokia loa mai lalo nei: Pau te mamate.
–.′ . . . . — —
↓ ↓

7. Wenake, wenak(e) i lalo, koa lili vaka;
. . — . . . .′
↑

8. Wenak(e) i lalo koa ula melo;
.′ . . . .′

533 9. Wenak(e) i lalo tuk(i) i te papa o te waulua.
539 ´ . . . . . — . . . .

10. Lipitia te yinakava; yuatia te wale atua.
— .—. . . .—´ . . — .— . . . . .—´ . .
↓ ↓ ↑ ↓ ↓ ↑

11. Ya wakakuekue; yá wakatuloutulou.
— . — .—.— — .— . — . —
↓________↑ ↓ ↑ ↓________↑ ↓ ↑

12. Ko te toa, koa Nguye e, e, e.
— . — . — . — . — — —
↓ ↓ ↓ ↑ ↓ ↓

13. Ko tau pokopolo, oku pokoivi.
— .— . — . — . . . .—´ . .
↑____________ ↑ ↑____

14. Ko tike toku lae, ia lae kula.
— . — . — . — .— . — . .
↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↑ ↑

15. Ko melo toku ngati, ia ngati melo.
— . . — . — . — .— . . . .
↓______________ ↑__________

16. Ko titike i Ngake na tuatua mata o Tongaleleva.
— . —. — . — . . . . ´ .
↓______________

17. Ko wakayeke mai ona ulu tao, tau ia wano.
— . — . — . .— . . . .
↓________________________ ↑ ________

18. Ko wakayeke mai ona ulu koyo, tau ia wano.
— . — . — .— . . . .
↓________________________ ↑________

19. Tike e, tike pe i Uyo e; kakole e mea e yao ai.
— . — — . — . — . — — . — . — . — . — .
↑ ↓ ↓________________

20. Ko wakakikio tangata; koa kalalau tangata.
. ´ . . ´ . . ´ . . . . ´ .
↑ __________ ↑__________

21. Yuatia teia; wakatangilia teia.
— .—. — . . . . — .

22. Na tama i te mata luluma, na topetopea;
´ . . . . . — . —´ . . . . . — .

23. Yoko a Wenutu ki te lakau wakatalatala.
´ . . . . ´ . . . — . . . — . — .

24. Amanie e ia; amanie e.
— . .—.— — . . — —
↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↓

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which

533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is
evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[181]nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[177]name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed
by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

535 the dancing and eating, their place in the first village being
527 taken by a team of dancers from the second village. The dancing is accompanied by rhythms beaten on wooden gongs, drums, and old tins. Older men or women accompany the dance teams. It is bad taste for a man to stay in the home village to watch the visit of the men from other villages for this would be spying on the women of his own village. Similarly, a woman does not stay home to watch the dancing of the women visitors to her own village. It is also bad taste for anyone to gossip at the end of the day about events in another village. It sometimes happens that as the dancers warm up, both men and women dance with an abandon that might otherwise be cause for jealousy.

535 The old form of dancing (yaka, pl. yayaka) accompanies chanting. It is seen today when victories in fishing and wrestling contests are celebrated. Rhythm is kept by chanting and by pounding on wooden gongs and formerly also on a shark skin drum. Today as formerly, the people of the village celebrating a victory decorate themselves in the green leaf kilts and shoulder leis (yei) made from materials associated specifically with the village in question. [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 153-154, category 116--analyst.] Men and women line up in file and dance along the road to the meeting place, today the village church yard, where they group themselves together at one end. They then begin to chant and dance. One person, usually the best male dancer, acts as a natural leader and sets the spirit of the dance movements by dancing alone in front of the main group. I cannot present an analysis of the dance movements, but a list of native terms defined by Talainga will give some indication of their nature:

Yaka in its narrower meaning, refers to the general swaying of the arms; inoino is synonomous.
Tuvali: to move the elbows up and down with outstretched arms.
Yayae: to move the knees in and out.
Pepeke: to sway the body up and down on tip toes.
Kapakapa is a fluttering movement of the arms suggestive of the movement of the wings of a bird.
Tutuku is the lowering of the body by bending the knees, or the rhythmic stooping of the body forward.
Wakamanga ki lunga is the raising of the arms to the level of the shoulders; tuku ki lalo is to lower the arms again.
Pu nou is to dance with the body bent forward from the hips.

535 Wuli vakevake is to dance by tilting the body backward from the hips.

Wuli pulou is to turn the palms of the hands downward; wuli vakevake te lima is to turn the palms upward.

Kakalo na mata is to dance with wide open and staring eyes.

Kekemo na mata is to dance with the eyes half closed.

Yopo te leo is to dance with a protruding tongue.

Wakaponga te ngutu is to distort the face with mouth in an attitude of defiance.

Wakamanga te ngutu is to dance with wide open mouth.

Wakanuku te tua is to dance rhythmically raising and lowering the abdomen and back, usually with knees and hands on ground.

Wakamakaka is to bend the head and shoulders backward.

Takawitiwiti is to squirm and move all parts of the body rapidly.

Wakaeiei is to sway the hips and buttocks forward and backward, and from side to side.

Several phases of the dance, no longer performed, were described. To dance moving forward out of line (atu) and then back into line is wakaoloolo. This was done by an especially good dancer who wished to come forward to display his skill. The term vilo refers to dancing in circular formation. Depending on the number of dancers, several concentric circles with eight to twelve dancers in each danced round in the same direction. A dancer might change from one circle (also called atu) to another during the dance, and the general effect of the vilo was one of circular movement with frequent interchange between the several circles. In the kaputata movement, the dancers lined up in concentric circles, with only alternate circles facing in the same direction, and all moved at once. Further variety was achieved by following dance phases in which the dancers moved in rows.

In general the movement of the body accompanying the chanting is a matter only of the rhythmic motions described. But, in addition, simple actions mentioned in the words of the chant are described with gestures of one or two hands to indicate, for instance, falling, throwing, or distance. The best dancers are those who most consistently and gracefully keep the body and buttocks swaying. Those who perform the most spectacular or energetic movements are not considered especially good dancers, for their movements do not involve skillful control of all parts of the body.

The Pukapukans do not seem to have had named dances or series of dances as, for instance, Canoe Dance, Talo Dance,

535 or other possible named dances. No such names occur in any
533 of the chants or stories and informants knew of none. Dancing
527 was solely an accompaniment for chanting. Movements might vary for the same chant on different occasions. Selection of chants and dance movements for the special dancing that took place at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades seems to have been equally arbitrary. There seems also to have been no connection between dancing and specifically religious ceremonial. Group chanting and dancing occurred at any time of the year, but more frequently during the six months pleasure-making following the rising of the Pleiades, after the frequent sports and fishing contests.

535 It is certain that the dancers became worked up to a high degree of emotional tension as the dancing continued throughout the day. Rapid movement, repeated rhythm, bodily contact, the suggestive effect of the words of the chants and the action accompaniments, all conduced to heighten emotion which found an outlet as the day came to an end in a wild burst of passionate lovemaking, mentioned in many of the chants recorded. The lovemaking was not promiscuous in the sense that avoidance or kinship tapus were broken down, but only in the sense that a certain license prevailed which overstepped rights based on marriage, and for the breaking of which there was no cause for anger or jealousy. It is again permissible
[154] to suggest that in a closely confined community such as Puka-
[578] puka, recurring periods of license acted as channels for the outlet of emotions directed towards the opposite sex which if cooped up might break out in anti-social violence.

Translation of Chants.

533 For the purposes of presentation, the chants have been
195 broken up into relatively self-contained line units so that the translation may be followed with greater ease. In actual chanting, however, each chant is recited as a unit and is not broken up into meaning phrases. The chanting is a continuous flow of sound interrupted only by breath pauses, but even these do not necessarily occur in group chanting when continuity is maintained by some chanters while others pause for breath. The chants recorded by informants without punctuation of any sort, were broken up into meaningful units in the course of translation.

Difficulties in translation resulted from the common use of clipped, shorthand expression, allusive and indirect reference to historical and religious aspects of the culture, the frequent use of hyperbole and obscure metaphors, and the wealth of double, symbolic meanings attached to many crucial words,

533 phrases or long developmental sequences. The total number of
195 chants remembered today in Pukapuka must run to several thousand. Some two-hundred of these were recorded for us by natives, notably, Talainga of Ngake village. This explains the weighting of chants from Ngake in the following selection. Of those collected, a random selection was made for the first 25 chants translated, the remainder were selected to illustrate chant types. In the time available it was possible to translate with informants only fifty chants. From the nature of the
[126] symbolisms and cryptic expressions present in each and every chant, it would be presumptuous to attempt further translations of textual material at hand without the controls exercised by the presence of a few of the best of the informants and their interpretations of obscure passages and symbolisms. It is to be clearly understood that all explanations in the following translations are presented just as they were given by informants.

Vowel changes occur in certain words in all the chants. These have been recorded only in the chant of the *pinga* type: *Na ulu toku manako* and illustrate the type of change preferred. The tendency is to eliminate diphthongs, thus achieving a more even flow of sound, and to reduce, by elision or alteration of the vowel sounds, the total chant to a general pattern of sound. Thus in the *pinga* mentioned, the general sound pattern of vowel is *u*; and in consonance with this, "te ulu" is reduced to "tulu," the first vowel being long. Besides the changes occurring in the pinga, the following changes are also common:

The prefix *waka*	becomes	*aka*	na	becomes	nu
au	"	u	yau	"	yu
mai	"	mi	yau	"	yo
tai	"	ti	kakai	"	kakayi and kaki
tau	"	tu	totoi	"	totoyi
nei	"	ni	tautapa	"	tutapa
ai	"	i	lelei	"	leli
kai	"	ki	lelei	"	lele
pau	"	pu	aumai	"	umi
lau	"	lu	kalou	"	kalu
te	"	tü	peleua	"	pelua
wainga	"	winga			

128 Technical difficulties of translation aside, the further problem
533 arises of the form in which the chants should be presented, that
192 is, whether the translation should be literal or free. A literal translation is the best possible introduction to the ideals of Pukapukan culture, but it may lead the reader astray unless he realizes fully that the weighting of words and concepts is entirel

128 533 192 different for the Pukapukan from the weighting of the same words for the Western European. A word that is neutral, that has no overtones of meaning or emotion for the Pukapukan may have many overtones for the average European, and more specific overtones for the individual European. To translate freely the many references in the chants to activities associated with sexual intercourse would give an entirely false idea of one of the most characteristic features of Pukapukan culture. To translate them accurately, is to impinge on the innumerable emotional overtones which swell and eddy about the ideas of these activities in the mind of the average European; this again gives a false idea of Pukapukan realism because these words, activities, and concepts are on an average neutral words for the Pukapukan, weighted down by few overtones. Their familiarity to, and use by, the most immature child is certain proof of this. Professional conscience has dictated that the following translations err on the side of accuracy. They can only present a near approach to the ideals of Pukapukan culture if the problem of relative weighting of words is kept severely to the fore.

Chant for a Sacred Maid (1)

539	Yakili ipo au mai Loto	I searched for a sweetheart in Loto
	Ki te leleinga o Te Tokolangi,	One with the beauty of the flowers of Tokolangi Islet, (2)
	Koa wakina au, utangia ki lunga o te vaka o Tona ma Taea.	The flowers that I picked and loaded onto the canoes of Tona and Taea.
	Toku yana e atule tauila	My beloved is as a young atule fish

1. This chant is of the type called kupu. It was composed about a hundred years ago, by a man whose name is not remembered, for Muluka, second daughter of the high chief Kaiti of Loto village. The fancy of the composer compares the girl to a mayakitanga, sacred maid, a position held by her older sister. The sacred maid was, by virtue of the sheltered life she led, the island's beauty. For a description of the status and functions of the sacred maid see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 237-239, category 116--analyst.]

[773] 2. Legendary land at the edge of the sky, discovered by the voyagers Tonu and Taea and famed for the beauty of its flowers. See[1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 401, category 116--analyst].

539 Naku pulua ki te welo ke lavalava	Covered with a spreading of welo flowers.
Tu la lunga o te unu ya o Mataliki,	She stood above the sacred worshipping stone of Mataliki the god,
Te mayui pe tilitili malo.	The one beloved as the elements of a malo. (3)
Ya ue pepe i te tiniu ko te nokenoke o te lalanga;	As quickly as if chasing butterflies, the women run to see the beauty of her plaiting;
Watu tonu ina, yayako ki mua;	Exact is her plaiting, straight in front;
Tau malo wai matapili ika	Your malo made well enough to serve as a fish noose.
Ya manea i na tupuna o te moana	Ancestors of the sea admired
Ki te kave lua o te lauena,	The two designs in the elements,
Watu wala kula ina la loto,	Designs worked within with red pandanus,
Yimu toki ina Wakalakalaka.	Designs as varied as the lashing of an adz.
Te matai te wawine tuwunga.	The most expert of expert women is my beloved.
Kavea ke wakayawia te mayakitanga tupu lelei,	Come, let me show you off, o sacred maid with your lovely face,
Vaimata uyi matangaleka,	Black your eyebrows, perfect to look at,
Wuwuke i loto o te wale tapu tapipi ia.	Brought from the sacred house (as if a real sacred maid!) then sprinkled with oil.
Wakalepua ke uluia mai oku tino	Stirred and excited is my body
E to amonga lalao maki,	By you, member of the lineage famed for healing the sick,
Na pulutia koe nanaia.	Secretly I embraced you.
Kavea o taua ki vao ke wakataukoti	Then fought with others over you in the bush
Ki te toki i na lelei o te tama pe Yinaliulu.	Cutting ourselves with adzes, child beautiful as Yinaliulu. (4)

3. This line is obscure but the implication seems to be that the sacred maid is as closely under the protection of the god Mataliki as the plaited elements stand to each other in a finished malo.
4. A double reference to the goddess Yina and the child Yinaliulu.

539	Na ta lau ina takitakina mai lunga	Chanted now the song for the lifting high of the sacred maid (5)
	Kavea e,	Chanted the song for carrying her,
	(Talowia, yau toku yana nei!)	(I beckon, come my beloved!)
	Koa tangi te pu.	The shell trumpet sounds,
	Tangi te nawa tokelekele,	Deafening the beating of the wooden gong,
	Te lau o te aliki mai Loto.	Loud the chants of Loto's chief.
	Te ulu vavai lau kenakena	You are as a cluster of white-leafed creeping vavai
	Ya kotowia i te mako a te atu Tokolangi,	Picked in Tokolangi for the chanting,
	Te taumakomako wakatongele	Or as the taumakomako plant, smooth and beautiful.
	Ya takitaki tu ina mai,	I carried you and you stood there,
	To tauyala, to lelei,	Handsome in your beauty,
	Ya waingaina mai titinga,	Well fed from your childhood onwards,
	E talo tu koe, lau ngavali no Wenuaeke	Standing as taro with swaying leaves in Wenuaeke (6)
	No to tava loa ki Uta.	On the far side of Uta's reserve
	Te wawine o Te Vai Talo Po,	For you, woman of Te Vai, taro gardens of the Underworld,
	Naku lavalava ko te kie o lulunga kakana-langi,	I spread kie leaves for the gathered kakana-langi fish. (7)
	Te pulotu o te mako o Loto,	For you, o beauty of Loto's chants,
	Putenga mawakiwaki wua,	With thighs opening and closing,
	I te ulu kalolo, koa takinai au.	With straight hanging hair, that attracts me.

5. The special chant sung when the sacred maid is lifted high in the hands of her retainers and carried about the island to the sounding of trumpets and the beating of gongs is given in [1:] : Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 238, category 116--analyst].

6. A taro bed famed for its luxuriant growth of taro in the reserve Uta of Loto village.

7. Figurative reference to the woman's genitals. Note the association here between the sex act and the concept of eating: the woman is as if fish gathered for a feast and spread on leaves to be divided among the people.

539	Valea e to ta wuti kula	I am satisfied with your bunch of red bananas (8)
	Na malu vevenu i oku lalo.	Soft and moist to my lower body.
	Na taia ngalo toku yiku o tai ika la mua,	I struck at the hook, then lost my tail as the first fish caught, (9)
	E to ngako wu toto pe te tala o te malau	Fat your vulva, blood red like the fins of the malau fish
	Malili au--	I am lost in amazed wonder--
	Koa oyoia i lepa iai mumula la loto	Your labia stand burning-red there
	O to titi ilangia te kilitai i lunga	Inside your kilt, lighting the skin above
	E na koyi tenga o te lelei	The striped thighs (10) of my pretty one.
	Ke wo mai mau ngutu i taku ipo lelei na tupungatai,	Let them come talking of my sweetheart, beautiful, quickly grown,
	Wua pupuku, na wenake ma te alangalanga,	Fat and round her body, plump her buttocks,
	Uyi to kava kololo pe te ulu o te yamuti	Dark her pubic hair, hanging as the crowned leaves of the yamuti tree
	Tulekina ki lalo, olo te lau.	Flattened down, but well-growing leaves.
	Tama o te matangi wakalua	O child of Loto's wakalua wind
	E leionga ika tauila, e wuwulu i o toto,	The fresh-spawned fish come in, but bathed in your menstrual blood, (11)
	Ko te tuayilivalu,	Blood of the tuayilivalu fish,
	Ko te yiku o te tawola tu,	Is only the tail of the Right whale, (12)
	Ko te wakamatua tena o na tupuna o te moana.	The largest this, of the creatures of the ocean.
	Kai ye yuayuakina mai titi wonu e,	Do not open to others your turtle kilt,
	Titi taepu, to ulunga kea wonu manini--	Even your small turtle kilt, do not open to the group of green turtles--(13)
	E maneai au la lunga o to tuapali tupu tala.	Let me alone play above your mons veneris, plump, well-grown.

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

8. Reference to the vulva. There is frequent metaphorical reference throughout the chants to the woman's genitals in terms of a bunch or cluster of red fruits. In other contexts however, the banana is frequently used as a symbol for the penis.

9. Sexual intercourse is here likened to the activity of fishing. Just as in fishing the fisherman pursues a fish with his hook, so in love making the man pursues his mistress. There is a real parallel in the Pukapukan mind between the skills, the excitement, and the suspense of fishing and love making.

10. The thighs are very commonly referred to as being striped. This is a metaphor drawn from stripes on a fish's body and may also refer to the blue veining of the skin on the inside of the legs.

11. Carrying on the previous reference to Yina the culture heroine, the woman is endowed with the power of Yina to color fish with her menstrual blood.

12. The chanter boasts that his penis is like the right whale, largest of all and that only he may have intercourse with her.

13. The woman's other suitors are compared to a row of male turtles pursing one female turtle.

539 Chant from a Yato Man to a Woman of Ngake (1)

Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga	Chant my chant to the distant clearings
Te wawine vave na yia ko te maonioni,	The strong woman is pleased and industrious,
E tuki to koyo, ngalepe te papa o te wenua,	Thrust down your digging stick, broken the level surface of the land,
Napea ki lunga ko te palapala.	Thrown up the mud of the taro garden.
Na mawiti te tuna, kakao ko te liu o Taua,	The eel is started, ascends from Taua's depths, (2)
Wakaoi ake na teletele, tuki ake te puna lalo wenua,	The soft earth is stirred, the subsoil water seeps up,
Poki wainga ia ke ola, taki kau tolu, koa velo ake to kaua,	Successful your planting, triple taro petioles appeared, the main stalk shot upward,
Tilikao ina ko te lau puka	Fertilized with leaves of the *puka*
Wotuwotu te peleua, utouto te talo kena,	The *peleua* taro matured, the white taro grew high,
E toaki te kele kula, e ula te ulu pepe ki lalo,	Leaves of the red taro spread, the lower leaves reddened,
Wakatu te piki kivingaleka e wawai ko tau matauyu,	The shoots stood firmly, you pulled the first rows,
E wakia ngalepe te ulukau, e kotia ngalepe te kaua,	Tore off the young leaves, cut and broke off the stalk,
E topetopea ona piki, ona vaivai talo,	Cut off the shoots and little tubers,
E ulaulaki koa amoamo lalava, ko na matawale,	Carried your tuber-loaded basket to the house fronts,

1. This is a love chant composed by a man, Pania of Yato village, for Ulutapu a woman of Ngake. It is a good example of a long love chant with characteristically lon and involved symbolisms and metaphors. It was composed during the time of Tuiva's regency.

[244] [776] 2. Successive lines give an excellent account of taro cultivation. The strong woman digs so deep in the tar gardens that she stirs up the lurking eel which is the agent and messenger of the goddess Taua. Another appearance of the eel is recorded in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 81-82, category 116--analyst].

539 E toaki atu tona nunuinga, wiliwili ake tona ao lua,	Spread the big tubers, separated the second class tubers,
Kauwia io mata lualau, moe mai mua tau Katikatinga.	Counted two hundred tubers; then you rest before your next activity.
Na matatini ma mata mano o te monotanga olo a Ngake,	One thousand, ten thousand, tubers you have for the taro puddings of Ngake's feast,
E tau tokalua te olo koa kave la wale	Two men are needed to carry your pudding from the house
E mangungu pau to yolonga, e toaki ngalepe ko te tulanga,	Members of your lineage rush where the food is spread, bursting from the houses,
E kati mai lunga ona lopa, na tala valea,	The young men bite into the food, speak satisfaction,
Takapelupelu ona wawine wai muli lele alangalanga.	The women fill out, their buttocks become round,
Na wua pupuku na putenga.	Their thighs become plump.
Ke wuli au mai lunga o te wu,	Let me turn towards your vulva,
Kai wakaata pe te ui pa,	Irridescent as pearlshell,
Ko pali mawolawola, toaki te wuluwulu	The labia part, the pubic hair of youth
Na matili ma to tuapali,	Spread across the mons veneris,
Uyi pe te ulu o Tongaleleva, wakalava te wu laingaloa	Dark as the distant tree tops of Tongaleleva, the vulva stretches like a tall tree (3)
Na muia pe Wenua-loa. Na tawiwi te lepe ma te kakano.	More and more visible as the islet Wenua-loa through the haze. Male and female organs conjoin.
Na ngatata pe te ayioyio	Struggling like the *ayioyio* fish on a hook
Na motumotu i toku niwi, aku akalava ke lave,	My penis breaks loose, I am caught again tightly,
Na pipiki makeke ma te pukiko,	I am hooked fast behind the clitoris,
E kukume atu kalali pe te vave o te ika.	I pull away swiftly with the strength of a fish.
Na toina au ki lalo,	I fall down below,

3. A legendary land frequently mentioned in traditional history and legends.

3:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--98 E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

539	Wotu o mua, koa melo pe te laukape kea,	Your front is engorged, gold as turtle fat,
	Wakaata mai. Tango ki te lima, yongi ki te iyu,	Suffused with red. I fondle with my hands, touch with my nose,
	Wuli ake au ke aku kaina io mai lunga,	I turn upwards where I feasted,
	I te kai manako o te tangata.	On the food desired by man.
	E wakalilililili lua vaimata, waka-lilililili to koyi manava,	I am thrilled by your eyebrows, thrilled by your belly creases,
	Wakalilililili lua putenga, maea au i to tupu,	Thrilled by your thighs, ravished by your body,
	Koa ata, koa kauwonoi,	Beautiful and fat,
	Na yeyele, koa matanga kapa, tino nui koa matangawie,	A smooth, greatly desired, large body, pleasant to the eye,
	Na onoonowia, lole te tupu matangaleka,	I looked, perfect your lovely body,
	E avatu ma o muli yina.	Perfect right to your waist,
	Wakaayawi mai i na wale, e tauyala koe ki mua,	Show off before the houses, handsome above all others,
	E popoti te tupu tala i lalo.	The sides of your body below are beautiful.
	I toku mata tu wakapulawa, i te manako ulu ma to tino	i Before my eyes stand naked. My mind goes through your body
	Naku takunatu ki te kalele ke pole mai koe ki aku.	And I commission a messenger to learn whether you favor me.
	Lolo taua e toku tangata, ma to matamatangi ko Ngake,	Let us stroll, o my woman, to where Ngake's winds blow,
	Naku akakoyia o mua ki toku malo nuanua, toku malo ula toto,	Your front I cut with my rainbow-hued malo, (4) my malo blood-red,
	Toku wuti malo ula, toku malo wakaluia, toku malo akavai,	My malo red-streamered, my malo desired by women, my malo envied by others.
	Yelea te wakatiu, pakia te palapu,	Tamed Yato's wakatiu wind, struck by Ngake's palapu wind,
	Koa lauveve wua i oku ala matangi	Gentled by winds of Yato
	Ya veve mai te tonga.	And made gentle the south wind too.
	Manea taua mai Ngake, ko moe i Tipia ma Wakakoyi,	We stroll from Ngake to sleep in Yayake's lands of Tipia and Wakakayi,

4. A favorite transferred metaphor in the chants where malo is a symbol for that which it covers.

539	Ka yala ki Yake ma Awuawu.	And visit the lands of Yake and Awuawu.
	Lio ake au ko na wutiwanga o Lapaiva	In your defense I challenge the houselots of Lapaiva
	Apoapo ai taku lakau, wakaoli au ma na tangata o Langilili,	I flourish my weapon, fight the men of Langilili,
	Ma na wutiwanga o Lapaiva, yau e te Yake	Fight the houselot men of Lapaiva. Come, woman of Yake, (5)
	Ke manea taua ma to mulitaua,	Let us wander, your body's organs are like a dart throwing base, (6)
	Wengatu au ke aku kitea o pawonu i Walalanga,	I go to see your turtles enclosed at Walalanga,
	Pe ko pei taku mataweo, na wua pupuku,	Comparing them with my turtle woman, plump and round,
	Una pulapula, una tanetane;	Whose turtle-shell-like skin is spotted with Tinea marks; (7)
	Kai wiwi lunga, kai kapilele, vayia io,	I turn on top to feast on sliced layers of flesh,
	Koa melo to laukape kea,	Turtle flesh golden in hue,
	Ula pe te koyi o te nuanua naku tukiatu, ngaolo ko te tawa o te langi.	Crimson as the rainbow's stripe that I place along the horizon of my sky-woman.
	Yeke io loa ko te kotianga o Avaloa	I move quietly to Avaloa's village boundary
	Pe ko no ai te wawine lelei o Wulia,	Wondering whether the beautiful woman of Wulia (8) lives close by
	Ya wakawiwi lakei ma te pua walakula,	We met, she was decorated with red Pandanus flowers,
	Omo ko te yinu, puya te kakala.	Oily her skin and sweet smelling.
	E wakavovi au kiai, wuli mai koe ke lolo awu taua	Shyly I look at you, you turn to me and we go wandering
	Yala i o nuku lau mamake, ko te patenga o te naupata mai Yayake,	To your shady islet, to the leafy bed of *naupata* from Yayake,
	Ke wai io ai e wainga ma taua.	That we embrace together.
	E wakayangayanga mai, na lite ko toku tapele,	Spread are your legs as you lean upon my leafy couch,
	E wulitonu mai koe, e angaiatu au ke wemili ake akalelei,	You turn to me, I move toward you that we may feel each other well,
	Poio au ko akaaka lua oku vae,lalao atu ai oku lima	I clasp you tightly, my legs convulsively moving as I use my hands

[These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

539 5. The reference to Yake and Yayake calls up the sexual plays and institutions for which these legendary lands are famous in Pukapukan history. Lapaiva and Langilili are the names of remembered household sections in Yayake.

6. The mulitaua, throwing base, is a pit used in the game of composite dart (velo) throwing; see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 365-366, category 116--analyst]. The sexual symbolism is obvious.

[832] 7. Tinea infection of the skin produces large shapeless blotches lighter than the surrounding skin color. A skin so marked is considered beautiful and a lover is proud to compliment his mistress on her spotted skin.

[103] 8. Avaloa or Avalua is an old name for the village of Loto, Wulia an open space on the Ngake side of this boundary.

539 E apo vae tai ina, e apo vae lua ina e wakatau ki te koni,	Lifting your first leg, then your second leg, preparing for our embrace,
Kunuwia mai na pakakina, witi atu, tavili io mai lunga,	We move up and down, I climb above, oscillate over you,
Katamutamu, kavatavata, kokiki,	Katamutamu, kavatavata, kokiki,
Ngalulululu, pakapakakina, kalakalala--	Ngalulululu, pakapakakina, kalakalala--these are the sounds of our embracing.
Pia au e te vale wu, na valea, e te maniania	I eject, your secretions flow, satisfied our excitement
Na tuki oku vave ya lulu mai loto o to wu,	Pounded my strength, gathered inside your body,
Na mawelawela wua atu ki lalo,	Then I fall back, down,
Tokutoku au ke malama ake ma oku mata,	Gasping till my eyes become light,
Ke nui ake ma toku manava,	Till my belly swells large,
Ke paki atu taua wakalua, wakatolu.	That we may embrace twice, thrice.
Wolaia mai te potu yakali tawa niniva,	Flattened is your mature coconut, (9) once pointed sharply,
Na yeyele, ye atatelekia pe te tawa o te yuvelovelo	Now smooth, no longer sharp to pierce like the spear's edge
Na kotia au, motu i loto, ko takoto ai oku tala tupua, oku wanongo;	I cut you, broke you in the middle; now my history is established, my tale will be told;
E nunumi au ke nono taua i te konga i tai	I hold you to me so that we stay in one place
Wakalata ko te vao o aitu ke momoe mai wakalelei,	Faithful to each other in the forest of spirits that we may sleep well,
Wakamatala ke kitea, na ngalo vale koe ma te tinui,	Loosen your kilt that I may see; you have lost secretions like other women,
Na wetike o ipu laukape, matolu to kaokao wonu,	But your cup of turtle fat remains; thickset are your turtle-like sides,
Na malu te puku na tangitangi, na yeyele to papa waulua,	Soft the sounding fat to the touch; smooth the bottoms of the double canoe,

9. A roundabout, though not to the Pukapukan mind, obscure reference to the clitoris.

539 Na mawola lua laungutu wu.	Spread apart your two labia.
Na wuli tawa ai au mai lunga te puaka nui o Tonga e,	I turn sideways above you, large pig of Tonga,
Na mawola to aloalo ngolo, aku toina ko te wuti o te ngayu i Taupe,	Spread apart your pig's breasts. I pull you to the shady leaves of the *ngayu* bushes at Taupe,
Te konga e tangi te lingolingo i te tala o Pepe i Yayake,	To the deserted beach where the landshells cried in Yayake' story of Pepe. (10)
I te lua talo na yokaiai ko Wuina, na kave o lalo o te launiu	Deserted as the taro pit where Wuina was speared beneath the drooping coconut leaf
Ya wakaoli ai ia Kape i te imu no Malamalatia.	Speared as Kape feinted, revenging his dead brother Malamatia. (11)
Na mulu nei taua. Na tupu i wea taku lakau?	We touch each other. Where was my stick grown? (12)
Na velo ko te va o Avayiki,	It shot up in the spaces of legendary Avayiki,
Kekeo ko lunga o te ulu o te talakelake,	Towering above the tops of the *talakelake* trees,
Koa lueia, e wati te lau,	Which shook, broke off leaves,
Koa pakia, pakia, e tatane te kili koa wakia.	That hit your body, spotting your skin, leaves torn off.
E popoti te tupu toyeyele,	Your pubic hair grows trim and smooth,
E litolito i ngalu lele, e vevia au,	White your skin as foam-crested waves, I am excited,
E yakayaka mai koe, ni lelei no Ngake,	As you dance for me, you, the beauty of Ngake,
E tavake mokomoko o te ulu ngayu nui,	You, the white-tailed tropic bird of the large *ngayu* grove,
Ko tu ki Alapata, kanapanapa wua ko te mata o te maina,	That stands on Alapata's island, shining to the face of the moon,

10. The reference is to a story no longer remembered. Whenever the Pukapukan wishes to give the feeling of a deserted place, he commonly characterizes it as being so quiet and unvisited that the landshells may be heard.

11. For the story of Wuina and Kape see page 59.

12. The word *lakau* meaning tree, stick, wood, or weapon has here the obvious sexual connotation.

539	To popongi na kili o te tiniu, peia waike te kili o te pulotu	Dark the skin of women, different yours, skin of the beautiful one,
	E yuyulu i te tini o Pana, taku ngolo o na ulu tavai	Shining among the many of Pana's (13) women, o creature of the tavai tree top,
	Na wakamate mai ki oku lunga, ya wakaili ki oku pi wu pa matangi,	You were as dead above me, resting on my breasts, sheltered from the winds,
	Te tamawine na wuwuli i toku winangalo.	The girl who returned my desire.
	Wakamatala ake te tai tua, ko ulu titimo ko te Po.	Open up the sea coast path, we enter stealthily into the Underworld, (14)
	Yuli oku ala kaulililki, ko takoto toku unu na vae, na makoyi,	Treading on my narrow road, my foot tracks remaining well-marked,
	Na wano ko te matangi, na yala i na nuku o aitu	We go to the place of the winds, to the islet of spirits
	Toki i te wuti o Mulua,	Planted with the banana tree of Mulua, the god,
	Toki i te kapi o Tangaloa, livai ia ko te niu a Malu,	Planted on the level of the Tangaloa gods who surround the coconut tree of Malu,
	E liliva ko te va i matau,	Surrounding the space to the right,
	E liliva ko te va i mayui, kakalo te atua wai newu,	Surrounding the space to the left; the magic-making god looks round,
	Ko tu i te watu a Yokamani,	Standing at Yokamani's balancing stone.
	Te palenga o te Po ma to ao, wakakati ai	Where the Underworld and the world of light join together, blocking the path
	Lua wata wano ola ko te Po.	Of the two priests who went as living beings to the Underworld.
	E mawiti koe la oku lunga, e kiai naku pukea mai;	You broke away from me, I did not catch you;

[103] 13 An old name for Ngake village, and one frequently used in the chants to refer to the village or the activities of its members.

14. For a description of the places and gods in the Underworld referred to in the following lines, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 326-328, category 116--analyst].

539	Na yelea ko te talakelake, wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo.	You were tied to the talakelake tree, your soul trap-tangled, died, stank.
	Wakatautili ai taua i te pu o te puka o Tangi;	We were both thrown to the foot of Tangi's puka tree;
	Wakaulu ko te wale poutini;	We entered Leva's house of a thousand posts;
	Kauwia toku yana ko te Po, e manata ko te yolonga mua,	I count over my death gifts taken to the Underworld; then look for my early ancestors,
	E mamata ko te yolonga muli; wakaake ko te ui a Lepiu,	Look for my later ancestors among the spirits; climb up to the taro beds of Lepiu,
	Te mata taia a Lea, alualu ma Lepiu maua	Where Lea gathers tubers. Lepiu and I hasten on
	Ke kiteake na ui liliku o te Po,	To see the illimitable taro beds of the Underworld,
	E wai muli koko, tawanga wua, e wai motuinga,	Their corners far apart, the beds divided into sections,
	Koa lalava, e wakia ko te talo lau kula,	Plentiful the taro in them, broken is the red-leafed taro
	E wakia ko te talo lau melo,	Broken the yellow-leafed taro,
	E pule tauina ye mawiti, e kotowia mai lakeia te pua o aitu,	Surrounded the beds by a guard that none may break, we cut decorations of spirit-flowers,
	Koa kakala, e maneanea, yulu na ma to tuapali, taku newu matangi!	Sweetly they smell as we play, fastening them to your mons veneris, o my wind spirit!
	Te ata wai o te waiti o te Po ma te ao malama	Into the shadowy space between the Underworld and the world of light
	Ya velo ai toku vae tapu	I thrust my sacred foot
	Ya wakakokia, tangi te lupe;	Stamping loud, and calling the pigeon's cry; (15)

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15. An inadequate translation of the phrase tangi te lupe. To lupe is to beat the thighs and make with the lips sounds of a pigeon. It is the method of establishing communication with a god. In referring to a sacred foot the chanter is comparing himself to the well-known character, Te Yoa, who was saved from danger in his conflict with the man-eating demon Te Atua Pule by thrusting his sacred foot into the ground (see the story on page 48.)

539 Ya puyitai na te tangata, wakapuke ai oku wale maki.	The man blew once, seized my house of sickness.
Omoyia ki te wakamanongi, wakataka mai te tokanga;	Smeared with your scented oil, bring together the sickness makers;
Koa avake i lalo te yiva nei,	The yiva chanting rises,
Koa ta te kapa a tangaloa;	And the kapa chant of the tangaloa gods;
Wakaolia mai te atu mua, wakaolia mai te atu loto,	The front row dances forward, then the middle row,
Newuta e Vave mai lunga, na mimia ki te matamatangi.	The god Vave beats his drum, the gods rush in all the directions of the wind,
Wetuki ki ngake, ki te malamanga o te tangata;	Rushing to the east, to the cleverest among the people;
Wakatu polo ta mo Leva. e wakia to tili	They arise, chanting for Leva, singing your tili chant
Na watu ai i te Po.	Composed in the Underworld.
E avake loa tuveina, wakalonga ko te tama leoleka.	The sound of chanting rises and the gods marvel, listening to your sweet voice.
E mawola to lava koti ika e kiliti i to tapu tangata,	Spread out your coconut leaf on which the fish is cut, bring forward your food gifts,
E ueia mai ki ngalepe, tuku teletele;	We chase away the people, scattering them in all directions;
Polokemeyia ma te ngutuala,	We embrace each other on the main paths,
Wai ki te koni, toka aku pole, e ulu atu au kia koe,	And embracing, satisfy desire in my entering into you.
Ko wuluwuluna, ko takelea, ko kanapa i te vau yina ma,	We wash, bathe, shiny the skin in the pool,
Ko tu i te vai i yua tili,	We stand at the pool of spraying water,
Ake ko te vai i Wuluna,	Go on to the pool at Wuluna,
Ake ko te vai i Wualolo,	Visit Wualolo's pool,
Ake ko te vai i Tamulua.	And then on to the pool at Tamulua. (16)
E maneanea ai taua, e moungutuina, laulapua mai ki te ngutu	We play there and talk, speaking with our mouths

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[103] 16. These are the names of well-known pools on the islet of Pukapuka.

539 E ni wakaiponga loa lata te manako ulu.	Of that adultery that delights the heart.
E tala to pali ia wuluwululena,	I think of your smooth mons veneris covered with hair,
Na mapua pe te ulu yelu mai.	Hair standing as if just combed.
Awa! lalo kai kula pe te ngako taiva kauaki,	Awa! below is red food like the fat of the taiva fish,
Ka momono ki toku wuti malu, kai puyonui, kai tiketike wua,	I shall insert my banana soft, food swoolen, food high-standing,
Na yikai ai au, motu, koa teka.	I pushed in, then broken, separated.

A Lolominga chant in praise of a woman (1)

Yitiki ki te uka mai lunga,	Lash the house above with sennit,
E Ato i te wale, koa niniva	Thatch it, sharp are the sides,
E tuki te peau koa nonoke,	The rough seas pound, splendidly firm stands the house.
E kayiva te uiite katea,	With pearlshell fastened on the starboard side,
E nokenoke, e vaka Lakawanga.	Splendid is the canoe of Lakawanga.
Ke yaeiatu te muavaka,	Let the bow of the canoe be torn open,
E mapipipipi a na wainga.	Torn wide open in the doing.
E uila mata takemo ake--	A flash of lightning dazzles me--
E wakakekeyu ki te puapua,	Fine is the canoe made of puapua wood,
Taukonekone mai Lakawanga.	Of stripe-grained wood from Lakawanga.
E wakatau ai au tuta,	I fit together the flanges,

1. This short chant is a somewhat elaborate comparison between a woman and first, a house and then a canoe. The second analogy is a frequent and very apt one to the Pukapukan mind. There is first, a close association between the form of a canoe and a woman's sexual organs and second, the beauty of a finely constructed canoe; its perfect shape and build, immediately call to mind beauty of form and line in a woman's body. In this chant the woman is compared to a canoe from Lakawanga (Rakahanga), where it is customary to decorate the canoes with pearlshell ornamentation. This comparison is all the more appropriate in that the woman is descended from Rakahangan castaways.

539 Koa pu wa, pu lima,	They have four holes, five holes,
Pe te pu ui mai Lakawanga.	Like the pearlshell-holed canoe from Lakawanga.
Na weniti, koa makavekave,	Thick is the sennit, hanging in a fringe.
Te kalaka kula e, na pae mai ngake nei,	Before the crimson kalaka seeds drifted from the east.
Keukeu keu a e!	Perfect is the canoe, it is perfect!

Introductory Chant from the Tamau Cycle (1)

Ko wakangaki atu ai au, penapena toku vaka, lokiloki malie--	I long for you as I prepare carefully my canoe for launching--
Wakatele atu au ki o nuku i ngake,	I sail to your islets in the eastern seas, (2)
Uta i te lakie, te puaka tino nui,	Loaded my canoe with tern and large-bodied pigs,
Te manu o te maunga ya wakaolioli	With the soaring birds of the mountain tops;
E unu i tiku yana, e lolo taua ki te tili puanga a Te Malenga	Taking out my pearlshell necklace, we two go to the flowered offering place of the gods
E liliva ko te niu a Malu. E wakamatau ki te matangi	Gathered round the coconut tree of Malu. (3) Grown used to the wind,
E popoti te tupu wawine, na topotipoti nonoke i aku onoononga.	Soft and neat the hair on your maiden's body, lovely, beautiful to my eye.
To tu tolo mua tu witu, teka i te va o Yayanga wakatuloutulou.	Ahead of your seven sisters, you crown the space of Yayanga, humbling the people.
E ta tau papa malalilali, payekeyeke,	Your plaiting board is cut smooth and slippery,
Tio te malo wakamaepa te wuluwulu,	Plaiting a malo, your elements are spread apart, untangled,
E liaki te kie kula, e taki te kie wete, e lalanga te epaepa,	Display your red kie mat, your kie wete mat, your plaited epaepa mat, (4)
E wakamaonioni, e tovili i lalanga,	Your hands are industrious and quick at plaiting.
Taku yana tamawine, e aku onoonoyia,	My beloved girl, I gaze on you
Naku puipuia ki te ngutu, naku wakiwakia na la	And would ward your from idle gossip, trimming
Kae tupulia nuku te ulu.	The tree that is you from growing crooked.

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. The Tamanu cycle consists of two introductory love chants, three main love chants and three shorter chants (*tila*). These chants were all composed in premissionary times but by various individuals. Although there are few common threads of meaning running through them all, nevertheless informants consistently grouped them together as a related cycle of chants. This seems to be based on the fact that in each chant there is at least one figure of speech derived from the appearance or quality of the *tamanu* tree. The *tamanu* or *wetau* is a tall tree growing high above others in the atoll bush; its spreading branches are associated in the Pukapukan mind with richness both in plant and human growth. This introductory chant was composed by the Yato man, Vaka-awi (also known as Atamu) of Yalongo lineage, for the Ngake woman Ikawotu of Múliwutu lineage.

[621] 2. Ngake village is understood to control all the seas and islets to the east of Pukapuka.

3. A god in the Underworld controlling a magical coconut tree.

4. The *kie* and *epaepa* mats were finely plaited, made only by the most skilled women.

539	Na ulu atu, yala ko loto o na kaputinga a na palu	In my canoe I join the men fishing for palu
	Tele ake te ika lalo moana ya tuki i te wui tane,	The fish swim below the sea chased by the fishermen,
	Yele koti te kino-mata momole--	Rivals for your beauty, those with ugly, flat eyes--
	Koti tau o taku akaiponga i taku lakau	Would cut the anchor that marries me to my tree
	Tu ko loto o te puyo wenua o Tonga ma Yake,	That stands within the back lands of Tonga and Yake,
	Ta te uluanga mai lunga, na nenewu pe na yamatangi,	Cut the branches of this tree, branches close pressing as the prayed for wind,
	Yau ko te mumu o Matakula toliki. Yeyele o waitunga,	Coming through the star-clusters crowding round Mars. Smooth is your waist,
	Yau ko te koyi o te nuanua.	Prettier far than the stripes of the rainbow.
	E liaki toku vaka wiwi, e pepelu i toku malo lepe,	I display my canoe (it is you!), I am girded in my malo of testicles,
	E wuti wawa tau au ma to Nukuloa mamao,	I draw the sail sheet, come to your islet of Nukuloa, (5) far away,
	Na wakatete i te ama akatipa i te wuli,	With outrigger raised, the canoe sailed erratically with steering,
	Kai maka ko na mata tau ko Tawiti,	So that we were thrown wide away from the landing points of Tawiti,
	Ki au e to malamala wetau o te vao o Te Tea,	I am filled, warmed with your tamanu fire chips from the forest of Te Tea. (6)
	Ka tipu motu te puapua, yakoi te wakanava,	I will cut down the puapua tree, the straight wakanava tree that challenge you, the tamanu tree,
	Na lio mai Ngake lelei, koi uyunake na lau o te wawine i mua,	I will protect the beauty of Ngake; start the hundred chants known to you, woman superior to all,
	Na tokele ngungulu i Muliwutu	The booming sound fires with excitement the men of Muliwutu lineage
	Lakalaka ia pau na muna o Tuyiyauola, wakakeyu koe e wawine vave	For you, the superior, the strong I would pass over all the wives of the chief Tuyiyauola (7)
	Lio atu au e tane wua pe Te Nana,	I guard you, I, as skillful a fighter as Te Nana, (8)

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]

[103] 5. Nuku Loa, an olden name for Ngake's reserve islet Motu Ko. The meaning of these lines is that the man will take his beloved in secret to the islet that recurs time and again in Pukapukan stories as the one best suited for love-making.

6. The forest of Te Tea is that in which Lata chopped down the tree for his canoe. See story on page 17.

7. Tuyiyauola, chief in the land of Yayake, is well known in Pukapukan traditions for the fact that he had many beautiful wives.

8. For the story of Te Nana, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 402, 405; category 116--analyst].

539 Yala ko te pu o lua wenua,	I come to the hole between the two
tuki mai o koe e wawine,	islands. Turn to me, o maiden,
Pange atu au i o lalo, koa	I touch you below where is the
puyangia e te lauwala	scent of Pandanus fruit.
Yau i ki nei ke aku	Come that I may gird on your kilt
pelukia to titi.	Fringed with the wind-cut bark
Ki te makavenga o te wau tai	strips of wau.
ai te matangi	
Naku tukuna i te ulu punga,	I drop my line to the rock heads
koa wakayeke i te laulau	two hundred fathoms deep
Ke kai ake te palu-malau	There bite the palu-malau and the
ma te katakata	katakata fish
E lolomi ki te yinu kanaka,	Eaten with your rich taro pudding,
kao wai imu malie, e	your oven is delicious, richly
lemolemoyia au.	tasty.
E to muavaka na ta wakaya-	Your canoe bow is well cut and
yako, tama o te atu Yiva,	straight, oh child of the isles
E wakatangi taku poko ko	of Yiva,
te vai ayanga;	The well at the outer reef hears
E wakatau ki te wu ke tau	my sounding buttocks;
te mania, e tuki toku	Smooth and slippery you are as
puna ia!	the wu fish, my gasping breath
	pounds.

The Second Tila chant from the Tamanu Cycle (1)

Toko toku tino awi mai	Raise my body of fire from Yayake's
Yayake, Mumula e,	isle,
mumula!	It burns, ah, it burns!
Toko toku tino awi mai	Raise my body of fire from Yayake's
Yayake,	isle,
Mumula e, mumula!	It burns, ah, fiercely it burns!
Uluulu lamaina i Niue	Clustered torches in Niue
Kakaya e, kakaya!	Glowing red, ah glowing red!
Uluulu lamaina i Niue	Clustered torches in Niue
Kakaya e kakaya!	Glowing red, crimson red!
O uila kili e, e nokenoke	Your skin bright as lightning's
tenga,	flash, your fair thighs,

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1. The second short chant from the Tamanu cycle is a vivid comparison of the desire that burns in a lover's body with the fiercely burning torches that consumed Te Nana's canoe, see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 402-405, category 116--analyst].

539 Pupula kiai lua oku mata,	Strain to them my two eyes,
To welowelo mukavakevake.	Staring at the flushed whiteness of your body.
E teka wua au i o yau	I slip away to your leafy bed
E tutipi niwi pati au,	Swollen, embracing,
Ki tu ulu kayo langi memelo.	Flushed like a crimson sky,
Tangi, tangi e e ia!	Sounding, ah sounding!
Tangi, tangi e e ia!	Embracing and sounding!

Third chant of the Tuyiyauola Cycle (1)

Alu, au, na wota ki o lunga te matou	I climbed to the top of the *matou* tree (2)
Ya wuli ai au kekeo mai te ulu o Tawiwi	I turned there, towering above the tree tops of the island of Tawiwi
Tu melo te weniu kalaka totokeye i to mua malo	Red was the bunch of *kalaka* seeds, scarlet before your *malo* front
Taitai au, koa niniwi e o koyi alongamanava,	I swoon, then relax against the creases of your belly,
Kakati te wainga na awukele,	Close the embrace and hot our bodies,
Kakala o nene pua wau,	Scent of semen, sweet as flowers of *wau*,
Omo ai au e tamawine.	I smear it over my maiden's body.
Ko koe te tane na takayia na nuku o te ika wainga	You are the man who visited Yayake, islands of many fish
Tele ma toku tino wano ko ngake,	Sail away with my body, let us go to the west,
Wuwuli taua i Tonganui, mamata i na nuku o Tonga,	We steer to Tonganui, visit the islets of Tonga,
Toi ma taku ulu puaka o na wanga o Tuyiyauloa.	I clasping the hand of my pig, (3) pig of the houselots of Tuyiyauola.
Ko tuyimate koe e wai mana,	You are like Tuyimate, that chief of magical power,
To ai te tane leoleka o te yau tawanga o Poike,	You were born the sweet-voiced man of Poike's distant cohabiting place, (4)
E konia vayia wakamananga, e to ko te ayiayi;	We embrace at the place of spreading thighs, where semen rain showers fall;
Talanga, e wakamata ia wawine,	Erect the penis, exposed the woman,
E tutuki ki te yau timotimo--	And embracing, my thoughts turn to tales of famous cohabiting places--
E kotinga welo i Timalea.	You cut me as *welo* bark is cut in the islet of Timalea. (5)

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. Like the Tamanu cycle, the Tuyiyauola cycle of chants consists of three love chants and one shorter chant grouped together in the minds of informants because of the fact that they draw heavily on symbolisms and references concerning the story of Tuyiyauola, chief in the legendary land of Yayake. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 381-383, category 116--analyst.] The chant given here was composed by Panga, great great-grandmother of informant Veti, for the man Tetau. It is of great interest in that it is one of the few recorded chants composed by a woman in praise of her lover.

2. The matou is a foreign tree. It stands here as a sexual symbol for the male organs.

3. A favorite metaphor is to compare a lover to the beauty of a fat, well fed pig.

4. Poike is well-known in Pukapukan tradition as the custodian and leader of a famous place of cohabitation in Yayake.

5. An alternate name for the island of Nassau.

539 E ulu kumala unu i te va mai ngake	You are like the tops of kumala leaves picked in eastern places
Ni atua tangaloa e yaya	In our love, set apart and sacred as gods of the Underworld
E kilitia ngalo ko nuku ngalo	We will disappear like islands lost in the sea.
Te uila e nunui i te kili	Your skin is bright like constant flashings of lightning,
E kalipo kili e angalua	A skin irridescent and flashing,
Tipu, unu i to ulu tuyi	As of a delicious fish I cut and remove your head
Lele i to koyi tapu o Moula	The colors of your skin run like the tapu rainbow stripes of Moula the god
E taku ngaika kiliti i te nuku wai ya	You are my fish caught and pulled up at the tapu islet of Ko
Tatapu ma o Ulutakapau	As sacred, you, as the worshipping place of Ulutakapau (6)
Ko no takuake e tama ya	Where you stay praying, you, the holy one,
Wuwulu mai na yamatangi	For you, I brushed aside the entreaties of my lineage.
Na ola pe te wutu o Avayiki	You grew like the wutu trees of the land of Avayiki
Ya tulekina i te uluanga,	Tall trees but stunted in their branching,
Na ola pe te lau o te Tatapu	You flourished like the leaves of the tatapu tree.
Unu mai na pa koloa	I drew you safe from the enclosure of the man-eating koloa bird (7)
Te tane o na nuku kokoa	You, o man of the legendary mischievous islands to the east (8)

6. A tapu place where the supreme chief of the island rested and consulted his gods.

7. The koloa bird was a man-eating demon killed by the culture hero Te Palo; see page 45.

[753] 8. Legendary lands to the east were thought to be inhabited by idle mischievous spirits who occasionally came to Pukapuka bringing with them epidemic sicknesses.

539 Wakatele yau ma te tino ika	You swam and came with the shoal of fish to my net.
E tapu lemoyi taku mea nei	A delicious food-gift for you is my body
Ika mai te va o Lautala	Brought to you from the wide spaces of the island Lautala.
Ko taku lava ta ko te tangata	My leafy lover's bed is cut by the man
Apo ma taku laukoe pala	Who brings me my knife of bamboo, (9)
Tatangi ngatata i te kilitai	Driftwood, sounding, rattling, washed by the water's surface.
Wakaulu ake ma toku manako	My mind is absorbed in you,
Ulu ki te lelei a te wawine	Filled by your beauty for women.
Ko no mai loto o Lulu-ipo, ko wakatalava i Longolau	We will live in Sweetheart-village, lie together in the island of Longolau
Wakawiwi ki te vavai mamake.	On a bed crisscrossed with pretty *vavai* creepers.
Tu mai ko wale ko te moana	You stand in the house under the sea
E tupilitia e Malokula, ni yoani no te tikitiki	Close by stands the god Malokula with his helpers, the small servant gods
Pole ai au ma te wua a tangaloa ngalu	Him I worship and all your group of *tangaloangalu* gods,
E aumanga una peva yiyika ko te ala o Malangatiale,	You, wearing your priestly headdress of turtle shell cut straight as a line of Malangatiale's turtles,
E wakapa kaiyo ki ngalu, e tutuki ki te one mai Ko	Calling, "Turtles ho!" where waves break on the sands of Motu Ko
E takiwuliluaina te wonu.	Turtles of which you each turn over two.
E ayuye wakapaea io, kitea e toku newu ayanga.	Like drifted wood, seen by my minor gods of the outer reef.
Maneai taua kiai, puna mai koe tu ko te lepa	We stroll there; or you emerge, standing in the soil of the taro gardens close by.

9. Following out the association of her lover with the islands to the east, the chanter thinks of the man as bearing a piece of bamboo in a complicated symbolism where the use of the bamboo as a knife is linked with the idea of the man's cutting into the woman in sexual intercourse. Further, bamboo cast up on the beach as driftwood and scraped by the waves over the coral beach, calls to mind the sounds made in coitus.

539 Pepelu ma toku ulu vayavaya	I girt myself with *vayavaya* grasses from the gardens
Wuli mai e tino kaikaina, wakataia mai,	Turn to me your lovely body, let us become as one,
Lulu ki lunga yongi wakatakaina to kili i na lelei lopa,	Moving above you, let me inhale and caress your skin, beauty of young manhood,
O te koyi o te vaka,	Beauty like the keen cutting of a canoe,
E kakala angaoti e malau,	Sweet scent like that of a *malau* fish,
E wuli ki lalo ki vevenu, venu pe te io o te tapotu	I turn below to your softness, soft as the eyeball of the *tapotu* fish
Wakapeke ai au, na valea, wakaluia mua koa mania.	I raise my buttocks, satisfied, I lower the slippery front of my body.
Na kai wakapi na wakakume,	Another came to you with rich food-gifts, favors,
Na patia, koa wetangi;	She you spurned, she wept;
Yoko ko te loloi, te malo yilu,	She brought you taro puddings, pandanus-plaited malo,
E ye wuli atu ai koe;	You did not turn to her;
Longo mai ki aku wakawitinga ia koe,	Listen to me who tells this of you,
E toku yana maniu, taulanga malo tala ki lunga,	You who are my beloved perfect coconut tree; girt in malo, you stand straight,
Wenake ma te tupu takatoa, na makeke tama o te atu ngake,	Body rising perfectly, strong man of the eastern isles,
E tali keinanga, e maloyi, manaki i to lulu kiai,	Guardian of your lineage, strong champion of the wrestling ring, on whom your village depends,
Lomia pokia mai lunga, e loa	You smash your opponents down, throw them from above, you who are tall,
E tai lapui yayae te lopa toyiliki	You blow down with one breath, tear apart, the tiny young men
Wai taku au matamatanga.	You take away my breath as I watch you,
Wuwuli te ngolo matangawie, wakalelei mako a te Yawea	Turn to me, o animal easy to look at, you who glorifies the chants of Te Yawea (10)

[103] 10. An old name for Ngake village.

539	Unuwia ki mua, e ayaka, wakamalini vale tamawine--	Come to the front, o expert dancer, you whose skill causes maidens' secretions to flow--
	Lalapa pe te ika matayau,	Broad you are as the fish of Te Auma's point,
	E manu no te kauaua ya wakapopoti wulu malie,	Or as a bird of the sandy beach, fine feathers beautifully preened,
	Pipi ko te tane, koa lelei,	Gloroious is your skin with its *Tinea* spots,
	Tukia kiai te tini i te po, na wakatata e ulu uyi;	Struck there by the countless spirits of the Underworld, colorers also of your black hair;
	Mumu i te lau o te tiniu, wakataukati manatua,	Over you buzz the hundreds of women, quarreling, jealous,
	E wetuki veve ki o lelei	Hastening, running to your beauty,
	Wunaia. Pe Wakatapukula o longo,	Hiding you. Yours is the fame of legendary Wakatapukula,
	E ye lakaia tuku talatala i na kikino	Do not jump for them, do not allow them to talk, the ugly women,
	Ni ta atua angaoti, e ye uyuia,	You are indeed made as the gods are made, none surpasses you,
	Wakayila ki te kili uyiuyi!	You, whose dark skin flashes and shines!

A Man's lament for his Dead Cousin-in-Avoidance (1)

Unia te tupu tamawine, koa laoia ngalo i te ao--	Removed is the girlish body, choked to death, lost to the world--
Na ulu taku tangi tukapawua, to pukepuke i toku tino.	Filled with sorrow, I dance with grief, my body falling from side to side.

[835] 1. This is a lament (*tangi*) composed by Liliku of Matanga lineage in Ngake, for his cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*), Tuiloa of the same lineage and village. Between a man and his cousin-in-avoidance the strictest tapu was observed see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 259-263, category 116--analyst.] Ideology holds that between these two there is great sexual attraction which may under no circumstances be indulged in during life. On the death of one cousin-in-avoidance, however, it was permissible and indeed expected, that the cousin of the opposite sex would indulge in a violent frenzy of grief. This chant illustrates some of the very deep passion that gives reality to the cousin-in-avoidance relationship.

539	I te longo kino na pa mai te matawenua!	Ah evil the news come to me from the point of the island!
	E tuia mai koe la lunga, e tui toyina ko te ngutuala.	We take your body high-lifted, seized by mourners, it falls to the road.
	To alaala wakamalili.	In a dream you woke me, shocked me.
	To longo kino, mimia kiai o tangata.	Now your evil news gathers the crowding people.
	Tukapa wua au ia koe; vayia io au pe te aku.	I dance, for you only my grief; I cut myself as bonito flesh is cut.
	Yui ai to kili tauyala.	Would that I could follow your lovel skin.
	Na wakatuyeina ko te yuaki--	Covered is your body with the tapu mat--(2)
	Na to toku palo ia koe.	Stunned and stricken am I by your death.
	Na ai te tama koa mate nei? Na Aloyiva te kula pupuni,	Whose is the dead child here? Of Aloyiva is the infant,
	Loa ngalo i tana muli tuluma, koa unuia laoia i te amonga manu.	Lost from his treasure basket, (3) choked, removed from the bird-symbolled lineage.
	Te aloa yopu wakatato, napenape ma toku kano manava,	Your love holds us chanting, your thoughts rise in my stomach,
	E vayia io toku kili, koa taukulakula	I cut my skin, it is crimson red

[764] 2. The mat with which the corpse was covered during the mourning might not be removed. This was to restrain expressions of grief which would be increased many times by the sight of the deceased's features.

3. The treasure basket is an inadequate translation for the plaited receptacle in which a man kept his most valuable and cherished pearl-shell fishhooks; by metaphor the young girl is likened to a precious hook lost from its container.

539 Koko te toto ko te ngutuala, uluia te ala o te tupua,	Blood streams to the road, floods the path of the bush-walking mourners. (4)
Koa maeia te wui atua i te tupu o te tama wano kino.	Grieved are the many gods over the face of the child whose going is evil.
Koa maka au pa yulu ko tu mai loto o te ui,	I left the row of pandanus trees standing in the middle of the taro gardens,
Te leo kaka ki tau tane, to longo liaki ki te matangi,	Your voice calls to your husband, your fame is spread by the wind,
To pua matangi yau mayala, vayia niu inai au,	Wind-wafted scent of your flower makes my body a slashed coconut,
Ta wa inake toku manava, vayia ika ngalepelepe.	Cut four times is my belly, a fish broken to pieces.
Weto oku wonotanga ki lalo, tupeke mai te tangata wakaola.	My limbs fall to the ground lifeless, the people revive me.
Koa mate. Ke wano ai e yui wawine ni tali no au wangainga,	You are dead. Let me go instead, my life return gift for your feeding,
Na yelewutia wao a tuli, tuia mai koa takitakina,	Sick with your convulsions, jerking like a plover, you clung to me who lifted you,
Yapayapaina pe te tawola, laulango o ulu ka'inga	Carried you from place to place, well wrapped by your relatives, like the legendary whale. (5)
Maeia ma to tupuakenga, i taku kea kili tanetanea,	I was ravished by your beauty, your skin like my spotted turtle shell,
Ya wakaniti ma na aua o Tinilau	Like the shell of the turtle family of Tinilau (6)

4. Bush-walking along deserted paths was seemly for those going to attend a wake; passing mourners along the main village road made others uncomfortable at the sight of grief.

5. The reference here is to the whale of the story of Tuyiyauloa page 71.

6. According to some informants Tinilau was the owner of all the turtles in the sea and dwelled in some distant legendary land.

539 E tangi atu au kia koe--	I weep for you in my grief--
Koa unuia lele te angaanga a Lualo i tana uluaki tamawine,	Lualo, your father, ran from his work to his first-born daughter, dead,
Ya kawu lalo, vayi ki te kau ngalipayua i tana mata	Mourning, he covered himself, slashed himself with clam shells, grieving over the sun's face
La wuwuke ko te ulu o Paku	That once opened bright over the sub-lineage of Puk
Koa motu ko te la tautawa, tangowia e Loke i te ala,	You are lost like a day's end sun, taken by Loke on the Underworld's path, (7)
Ko nenewu ko te wale o Leva, ko ta i o wuwuta ki ai,	You are hidden in the house of Leva where her brothers-in-law, the gods, chant,
E wakaoli ai tona taokete, tupeke ko te mata matangi.	And dancing, grieve toward the many wind directions.
Yuaki wakamatauina to titi watu ki te laukie.	The gods keep you, grow accustomed to your presence, you, with your dyed pandanus kilt.
I taku no ia koe i te kino--	Without you, my life here is an evil thing--
Taku loimata lutu pe Taua i na po.	My tears drop like those of night-weeping Taua. (8)
Koa maka au tama ko te ao, ya taupili mai o muli--	My children of this world you have left, buttock-clinging children you comforted--
E yala i wea te mea koa numiai koe?	What is the sin that has taken you from us?
Tanga lua inake toku ulu--	Once you made two wreaths for my head--
Koa wao ai loa au i toku wale atua	Now I go alone to my sacred house
Wai atu mo toku kainga.	To make there your remembrance for my lineage.

7. A god of the Underworld who directed the spirits of the dead along the paths of the Underworld to the house of the goddess Leva.

[776] 8. A story fragment explains this adjectival reference to the goddess Taua. She wished to own a magical net which concealed everything over which it was thrown. The god Tamayei refused to give it to her, and Taua spent her nights weeping.

Lament for Watuya (1)

539	Ulu taku tangi vavalo ki ngake, e yau aliki,	Come, sing my chant, call it to the east, a gentle chant it is,
	Maka te tanganga, tike te potu, ko takoto te niu wakavale,	Dropped is the fishing group, bare the sacred seat, left standing are feast-reserved coconuts, (2)
	Ya tataku i o atua, ia Mataliki ia Tamayei	We prayed to your gods Mataliki and Tamayei
	Ke wowo ake oku tupuna ma na papa ula o Kui,	To bring together your ancestors and the red-rocked god Kui, helpers in your fishing,
	Ya wakatele ika mai ngake, e wetuki i aitu wangota ko te moana--	Fishing spirits hastened to sea to help you, fish swam in from the east--
	E tane na apoapo matai, e kiai na wakayopu ki tua,	He was a man with already prepared snoods, though not yet gone to sea,
	Ya tapena to matua i o penupenu mau mea,	Your father had made ready strong, permanent fishing gear,
	Ya kumeia ona tope, ona kawilo uwi, e likolikowia	Fashioned were the tope hooks, the pearlshell kawilo hooks, tight-seizing hooks
	E kumekumeia, te mate o te ave ma te kakayi,	Nicely polished, death for the ave and the kakai,

1. This chant is also called the lament about Mataliki and Tamayei because these two gods of Loto village are mentioned in it. It was composed by a Yato man,Vaipo, for his nephew Watuya of Loto who sometime previous to the first missionary contact sailed away in a European ship and later died in Samoa.

2. The group of young men who formed a fishing team to provide food for the older men has now lost one member; the sacred seat in the god house reserved for Watuya will now be unoccupied; coconuts round the cemeteries reserved for the feast which was to mark Watuya's assumption of sociological adulthood will now never be eaten. The following lines comment on the fact that Watuya was about to join the young men's fishing group. His father had prayed to the gods to help the young man in his fishing and had prepared for him a now useless fishing equipment.

539 Niniva te mata o te akavae, wakapoi, koa pipiki ngaleka,	Sharp-pointed was the barbed wakavae hook, tight-gripping at a jerk,
Ni makupuna tutupu a Te Upe	Descendants, these hooks, sprung from the first maker Te Upe (3)
Ko te tama na vayivayi manava, na wemiti wano ko te moana,	Your longing for the sea cut throug the hearts of your kinsfolk,
Te palo o Wetau, koa taki i taku uluaki na taumua--	Your death stunned Wetau, cherisher of you, his first-born-
Na mawiti i tana mata toki, newu te tuta, koa ye pi--	Thrown aside his adz, halted his work on the joinings of his watertight canoe--
Wenake ma tona matua tane.	You, the boy, who had sprung from him.

Chant of Boasting (1)

Koti ati i te ava no Panau,	Cut is the boundary of Loto and Ngake at the reef channel of Panau,
Te yae iatu i te tukutai--	Separated are the villages along the lagoon beach--
Ke tulituli aliki-tai	Let Loto men grope for the worthless aliki-tai fish (2)
Ke wai ai au lavaya.	To prepare for their village feast.
Kinaki ki te namu o Uta;	Food complement of the mosquitoes of Uta;
Kinaki ki te pepe o Uta.	Butterflies of Uta to complement their taro.
E toai io to ulu, koa pakilakila!	Men of Loto have cut their hair, are completely bald!
I a!	I a!

3. By metaphor the fishhooks are considered to be lineal descendants of those famous hooks made by Te Upe who is reputed to have invented the Pukapukan barbed fishhook.

1. This is a chant of insult (tila) sung by the people of Ngake village after winning a contest to determine boundaries of the village.

2. Loto village controlled very poor fishing grounds, hence the taunt that for a big village feast Loto must be content to eat tiny worthless fish like the aliki-tai along with mosquitoes and butterflies as a food complement for the taro instead of the fat deep sea fish enjoyed at the feasts of Ngake.

A tila in praise of Motu Ko (1)

539 Malama te ao, ka malama,	The dawn whitens, it is light,
Yelea, yelea, yelea toku vaka nei	I tie, tie, tie my canoe at Motu Ko
Au niu e, au talo e, au ika e! au wonu e,	I gather coconuts, taro, fish, turtles oh!
Yiliyili atu pe awa tena oku atu i e.	The people ask whether anything remains for the late comers to get.
E loloi talo no Ava e,	*Loloi* pudding of taro from the island of Avalau, (2)
Wai e Pana aumai kai ai te Yawea,	Prepared by the women of Pana, eaten by the men of Te Yawea,
Na wakamalu ina likoliko,	Soft is their *likoliko* taro pudding,
Koa olo wala o na wawine o Yayake e.	Flavored with pandanus is the *olo* pudding of the women of Yayake.
Ya wakawiwi, wakatikei, to tauanga i te tawatai o Laka e,	Naked we embraced, embraced on the beach of Laka,
Wuli mai koe, e puaka e,	Turn you who are as a pig to me,
Wuli atu au, e tavake e,	I, a tropic bird, turn to you,
Ka tuvali io, ka tuvali e,	We will move up and down,
Ka valea koe, ka valea koe.	You will be satisfied.
Puya te kakala o te yei tu,	The scent of your flower wreath is wafted to me,
Puya te kakala o te takataka,	The scent of your dried coconut oil comes to me,
Melo mai loto wakatauyeu ki na lelei,	Red is the oil mixed with beautiful seeds,
Ye kalaka kula, ye wua tipi,	Countless *kalaka* seeds, innumerable *tipi* seeds,
Wuti, wuti kula, wuti melo,	Flowers from the banana, the red banana, the yellow banana,

1. *Tila* is the type name for this chant which dates from the time of the regent Tuiva. It boasts of the richness of the food resources on Ngake's islet Motu Ko, not neglecting the opportunity to include reference to the desirability of Ngake's women.

2. This is the island on which Te Nana found great abundance of taro during his visit to Yayake. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp, 402-405, category 116--analyst].

539	Wutia te kai kia malie!	Delicious is the food gathered for me!
	Malamalama te tawa ki Ngake,	Daylight breaks in the eastern sky,
	Malama e e.	It is light.

A tila of the expedition to Motu Ko (1)

E vananganana te pule,	The guard of the islet gives the announcement, (2)
Te koyo o Te Alo-lauina	Husking sticks are placed on the canoe named Te Alo-lauina
Ka yolo te vaka e, ka yolo	The canoe will speed along, speed along.
Te toki o te toli kauwi	Ready is the adz for cutting pandanus keys,
E payi wano ki te ayanga,	Our canoe is a vessel going along the outer reef.
Tuta, wano ki te Nukuloa	Stopping, then going on to Motu Ko.
Viovio ko te iki tawia, iki na,	We erect the anchor sticks, (3) anchor the canoe,
Na lele loa ki loto, yoka i te niu mata.	Rush into the islet, husk ripe drinking nuts.
Wakanau ake au: malie te kikokiko,	I sing praise: sweet is the coconut's flesh,
Tama o te ulu wutu.	Child from the grove of wutu trees.
Onoono atu au ki te pakayau ngongo,	I watch the wings of the noddy tern
Ko tipitipi ki lalo i te koanga wua,	Dipping low over her nest of eggs,
Lele au i te ata, tango i te mulimuli ngungu.	I run under its shadow, grasp its grunting tail.

1. This short chant records an expedition made by Ngake villagers to their reserve islet Motu Ko to gather food and catch birds.

2. The food reserve is controlled by the village acting through a guard composed of village members. When a village council decides to take food from its reserve, it is the duty of the guard to announce this fact and arrange the particulars of the expedition. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beagleholep.p.38,category 116--analyst].

[501] 3. To anchor a canoe in shallow lagoon water a long stick is thrust into the sandy bottom behind the outrigger boom in such a way as to keep the canoe from drifting.

Chant for a Fishing Competition (1)

539 I taku vaitili maka ki tua:	My chant is thrown to the back of the island:
Yinuyinumaki i na kotinga o te wenua,	Well guarded are the boundaries of Ngake's lands,
No Ngake ia Tuapuka,	To Ngake belongs Tuapuka reef, back of the island,
No Ngake ia Te Akau-loa,	To Ngake belongs Te Akau-loa reef,
No Ngake te va o Te Itu,	To Ngake belongs the space of the reef Te Itu,
No Ngake mo na uluulu akau peia?	Does not Ngake therefore own all the outer reefs?
E momoe ai ona tupele, ona mulivaka, ona lopa,	Here sleep helpful spirits of old men, mature men, young men in their prime, (2)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te lui ma te wanga,	Hung are the fishermen's ~~malos~~ with *lui* and *wanga* fish, (3)
Tau, tautau na malo e e, ki te patuki yiva	Hung are the *malos* with *patuki yiva* fish
Li, li na ulu ki te unaliki,	Wrapped are their heads in wreaths of *unaliki* fish,
Ta na malo ki te taiva,	Their *malos* are made with *taiva* fish,
Pepelu ki te yiku o te ta	They are girded with the tails of *ta* fish
O matou kili ni tui lawi,	Our skins are strings of *lawi* fish,
O matou kili ni tui lenga,	Strings of *lenga* fish cover our skin,
O matou kili ni tui wuakau mai tua a!	Covered with *wuakau* fish from the back of the island!

1. This chant called a *vaitili* is sung by the winners in a competition for the catching of the reef fish *patuki.*
[133] Tuapuka is part of the encircling reef at the back of the
[103] island. Te akau loa is the long reef running from Yato to Motu Kotawa. Te Itu is the reef between Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 18, category 116--analyst].

[775] 2. The spirits of dead men are thought of as constituting an army of helpers who gather the fish of the sea and bring them to the hooks of Ngake contestants.

3. As the fishermen bring their catch back to the village, they string the fish about their waists and around their heads.

Fishing Chant (1)

539 Wakaoli io koe, na ulu ko Malokinuanua,	Dance you, who have the spirit of Malokinuanua (2) the god within you,
E ta ko te timu, na lueie o ala matangi,	You were conceived in squally weather and so changed the path of the wind,
Akaanowia oku tino manu, e kului ko tu matavaka,	Come wind, cool my bird-like body, a *kului* bird perched on the bow of my canoe,
E wakawaoa ki te tutuku, te manu tino nui o te moana,	*Tutuku* birds are my crew, the large-bodied birds of the ocean.
Tu mata ki ai te kakai ki na wotunga a kili a yua, moe lelepo,	The albacore stood to watch the skill of him with water-wet skin, whose sleeping place was ocean dirt,
Ko no ko te peau watiwati ni uyu no na timuangi,	Who lived on white-capped waves, went out when heavy winds blew,
E tautapake kokoto te leo, tauvalo kia Malokitelangi:	Mellow the voice praying to Malokitelangi:
"Yuatiake la to moana, langa ki lunga tau wangota,	"Open wide your ocean, raise up your fish for me,
Mimia ko te pu o na ngutu, ki te waiti o te kilitai,	Wash them to the deep waters of the reef shelf, to the sub-surface waters,
Ki te papa o taolo te yua, tu te newu kanomoana."	To the ocean bottom where waters move back and forth, where stands the dark, deep sea."
E avake tau ika la lunga e kokoti tali i te pakupaku,	Raise your fish high, it nearly bites off the teaser bait,
Taki te ulu o te kauyele. Tutapa tu au	Lift the loop of the noose. (3) Standing I call to my crew

1. This chant called *tangitangi* is sung in praise of the skillful fisherman for whom it was composed.

2. This is an alternate name for the god Malokitelangi who is mentioned in line seven. The rainbow (*nuanua*) is closely associated with this god.

3. Throughout this chant the fishing method referred to is noosing. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole p. 69, category 116--analyst].

539	"Newutia io yelewuti ke to la ama! "	"Caught fast! Pull up hard so that it falls to the outrigger side! "
	E tane tupu kalapalapa, e ivi nunui, e lima makeke.	I, man grown strong, with large bones, powerful arms.
	E miti nau, na wawangu ake, wowo ko te keketunga o te po,	A dream of mine did rouse me to prepare my canoe at the ebbing of the night,
	Yau to atua teteki mai, e kave ko to vayi tonga.	Your god had come to fetch you, to take you to southern spaces.
	E anga nou e na wakapono ai lua vayi.	Your fishing was discussed by men of the two Ngake lineages.
	Ma na newu o te matoyia, e kiliti tau ika taeyao:	Helped by attendant spirits of the deep ocean you pulled early morning fish thus:
	Tuki ake ke tete i te yua, e avake loa	Clubbed the fish hard so that it shuddered in the water, raised it up then
	E tatao ke la lunga wua, langona e te pane e Tane.	Pulled it completely out, an exploit heard by the head of Tane. (4)
	Wuwuli i lunga o te kilitai;	Teh fish squirmed on the surface;
	Tu, tu te yiku o te matawula,	Erect, erect stood the tail of the large albacore,
	Ko ati ma to ave-kakai.	Covered the water with ave-kakai fish.
	Akatu te ao ununui, langa ki lunga to tino toka,	A heavy squall arose, you raised your body of stone to face it,
	Ava ko te moana e poalele, mailiina te ala peau.	Some go to an evil-smelling sea, are nauseated, but you swing over the roughest ocean road.
	Ke wano maku pulu ika, e ati ki te ave o te tuava;	Once when I fished, a school of tuava fish covered the waters;
	E wakamayia ko te katea, e ika koa lopa la lunga,	Twisted my noose on the port side, and the fish jumped over it,
	Koa wotu koa tauwiaelo, koa kai lalao i te kupenga,	Came to the surface, ate bait and chum, ate pressing down on the loop,
	Koa lele ma te ane wakatau, e nawa no tau taitangata.	Then rushed off with the chum, worthy opponent of the best fishermen of your birth class.

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[776] 4. This reference is obscure as Tane was not a member of the Pukapukan pantheon. Informants could not explain this single occurrence of the god's name.

539 E lulu ma te kauyele ki lunga, e ta ki te akayiku,	Pulled up another fish without releasing the noose pole, struck it on the tail,
E tu pilitia e Yawenga e manoatia e Matanga.	While the god Yawenga stood by, god worshipped by Matanga lineage.
E avake loa te tui loloa, yula ki lunga.	Again, Yawenga raised for me a long line of male turtles, their backs exposed,
E wenake i lalo te mataweu, te ika talau te taepu.	Largest green turtles risen from below along with large fish and small.
To vaka ko pae matangi tona, e kanapa ko te wua Aliki,	Your canoe was drifted by the south wind, canoe glistening like the fleet of Aliki, (5)
E yau i ona wua tikou, te atua uli o te ayanga.	Whose fleet came quickly on high waves, helped by black god Yawenga of the outer reef.
E pupua i te ala la uta, e koyi i te ala koyingalu,	I was so swift I raised dust on shore paths, cut through striped sea paths,
Na uta ki te ayuye moana, na yele ki te akula panoko,	Loaded my canoe with flotsam of the ocean, noosed the swordfish,
E vaka palata mi te timu;	Placed in my canoe a thresher shark caught in the squall;
E lakau pae ko te matangi, lulu na atua wawine.	My canoe was as wood drifted by the wind, gathered by the female gods. (6)
E momotu io te kaungutu vaka, te papayiva	In my strength I could break off the bow of a canoe, tear apart wreckage
E vivio na yulu ki te waoa.	Hammered, fastened together with iron. (7)

5. Informants thought this referred in some way to the sailing away from Pukapuka of the man Aliki who was exiled because of his supernatural powers. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole p. 408, category 116--analyst].

6. Lazy men too timid to go fishing in heavy weather were called female gods (atua wawine). Only male gods were interested in fishing.

7. The Pukapukans knew of iron before white contact. Driftwood and wreckage cast on the ocean beaches were burnt to ashes and the nails often used as drill points.

539	Lulu tu ake io wowoakenga, ni longo nou wotunga ika.	I stood proudly among gathered fishermen, great my fame as an expert.
	E avake loa tea te moana, wetike wua loa te tupuna	Fish rose whitening the sea, exposing indeed the ancestors
	Lulu mai na lau talake loa	Gathered with their hundred retainers
	Akapono ke pono na ika.	Met to gather together the fish for my hook.
	Koa tuku ki aku na wole, aku taomia te atua ya.	Given to me are fishing victories, I press away gods sending bad luck.
	Wai malo na velo te yila, mumula mi ko tu uluanga	I prayed to the god Malokitelangi, god wearing a malo that hurled burning lightning that stood overhead
	E kalapa i to matoyia u e, i na newu o te moana,	That flashed to the dark ocean. I, to the attendant spirits of the sea,
	E tataku i taku vai matala, avatu maku akatetea	Spoke my prayer for good luck, carried my gift to the god.
	Yopukia au mi lunga o te vaka Utamanu,	Fortune seized me on board the canoe named Utamanu,
	O te uyo o Ngaliyeyeu ma to taokete Te Awuawu.	Standing at the bow, protected by the god Ngaliyeyeu and your brother-in-law god, Te Awuawu.
	E lokiloki toku waoa na wili ma toku lulu vavave	I prepared a crew chosen from my village of strong men
	Ya takilitia toku vaka, e kae moana e telei!	Men who could whirl my canoe around, no ocean big enough for our journeying!
	Ya takayia te akau ki Tima ma te muli toka.	My canoe encircled the reef as far as Tima and the last rock of Motu Kotawa.
	E yele mi tu yele witu, wuwuli ona ika kailopa,	I noosed standing, noosed seven fish, then turned to the fish wary and cunning,
	Ue ia e te atua mala, ya kotia wua taku matai.	Fish chased to me by the god of ill luck. It bit my snood right off.
	Ko wotu wa mai aku yelea i taku uluanga palatimu	Then rose four small pala fish noosed to make my good catch
	Naku vayia vivili i te liu o Telekino	Which I beat shuddering on the bottom of my canoe, Telekino.

539	Yele au ke pupu te moana, tutuki pe popo wotunga,	I noosed till the sea foamed, pounded the fish dead like an expert food pounder,
	E ulaki ki taku lau papa, koa akakayi taku lualau,	Loaded my canoe with my hundred *pala*, almost two hundred *pala*,
	Taku ika amua ki Waletoa.	My fish were first to be unloaded at Waletoa. (8)
	Wuwulu ki toku kili ika liki, pakupaku ki te tala o te eve.	I washed the fish scales from my skin. My teaser bait was the fin of the *eve* fish.
	E longo i wea mea nei? E longo mai na kau mamao	Where did my fame carry? It was heard by people far away
	Ko inu ki te yua o te moana, kai ki te vale o te pakipaki,	Of how I drank the water of the sea, ate the slime of the Portuguese man-o-war,
	E vivio ai taku woe, na kiliiliti ki lunga tu e ayioayio moana,	Plunged my paddle, pulled up, and raised an ocean water spout,
	Kakalo ki te yolo o na ngutu, ki te akapula a te lui-ave;	Could look at the swish of ocean depths, at the rising of the *lui-ave* fish; (9)
	Taki ona takatakai wanaga, yala i te watu te wangamoana,	Of how a school of *wanga* fish came a *wangamoana* loosened the sinker,
	E maka taku tope wua alake, veve ko te newu tata i te wao--	But I threw down my hook to the fish, jealous spirits pulled away the line--
	Kavea ona wakatapatapa wano koa mate!	I made an incantation and the fish went to the surface, dead!
	Lolominga:	Addendum: (10)

8. Waletoa is the open space on the lagoon frontage of Ngake village where fishermen landed their catches to be counted after a fishing contest.

9. This fish is mentioned in this context because it lives in the deepest waters and is only occasionally seen by those who spend most of their time deep sea fishing.

10. The remaining lines of this chant may or may not be sung with the main part of the chant. They are regarded as an optional addition probably added by the man for whom the chant was composed to make sure that all his skills and exploits were exhaustively recorded.

539	Koa likowia e te kawilo, e wua, e tili, e takitaki,	Fish were caught by the hook that I, skilled, threw, then pulled in,
	Koa yao ia likoliko, yao i te wua a Yeki ma.	Hooks excellent for catching, excelling those made by the fishing fleet of Yeki (11) and others.
	Liakina aku kotia lave te leke, ke yulu piki	Display my cutting of the shank-knob that the hook fastens tight
	I te kalokalo o te ave, te ipo o Totoloa,	In the upper jaw of the ave fish, sweetheart of the god Totoloa, (12)
	Wuwuli i lunga e te mayui a Te Alangaoa,	But turned on the top of the water by the favorite son of the god Te Alongaoa.
	E tili, makake ko te vayi tonga o Tangaloa;	He threw and cast his line in the southern spaces of Tangaloa's ocean;
	Toaki makave to papa kokowi ika,	Open wide the rocks that shelter fish,
	Lulu ai na atua wawine leowia e Te Alatapu ma.	Though the lazy men gather at this fishing ground it is guarded by Te Alatapu and other gods.
	Yau te yaunga o te vale moana, te ika e aku ulakinatu,	Smell of ocean slime came with the fish brought by me,
	E avake na puke i toku wale, ko taku pakupaku ika malie;	The catch served in my house, my left-over bait fish was delicious;
	Kai tuwonu toku waoa, kayiva te kili ma te piopio	My crew ate greedily, passing over the kili and piopio, fish usually eaten,
	Na livaia au e te malau, te wowonga no na tupuna,	I was surrounded by malau, best eating fish; Ah, good fortune from my ancestors,
	Wotu mai Ngake e!	Making my fame known in Ngake!

11. Yeki is a man remembered only for his great skill as a maker of fishhooks.

12. For the connection between this god and fishing, see story page 28.

Chant for a Fishing Contest (1)

539 Akaolia, tuki ki te vaka,	Paddle in rhythm, beat the canoe sides. (2)
E ta te lalau, koa tuolo,	Sing the chant, moving back and forward,
Ni wua lakau paea io, tilina i te va i ayanga,	The canoes, like driftwood, thrown up onto the reef,
Taupuke ki ai ko te tiniu,	Caught, held there by the helping women,
Wuliwuli ia na tino, koa kanapanapa,	Who turn to the men's bodies, glistening, shining,
Koa lata koe ko te kainga atawai!	You are submissive, o man, to the lineage generous to its sweethearts!
Moe au mai loto o toku wale,	I sleep inside my house,
E miti taku miti ki te awiawi,	Dreaming my dreams in the evening,
Moe wakamiti totongi ma te matoyia,	Sleeping, dreaming of enormous fish of the deep ocean.
Tu, kauia o kaveinga;	I rise to con over the stars;
E wenake Te Manu ma Te Toloa molunga o na Takitutolu,	Dorvus and Delphinus have risen above Cassiopeia,
Koa kaleka mo na towunga.	Exact is the time for starting.
E utu te vai, tuku ki lunga o mulivaka,	Fetch the water, place it in the canoe's stern,
E yayaki kia Te Matakiate, akayiku ai Tumulivaka,	Pray to the god Te Matakiate, petition Tumulivaka,
Taulia ki te manu mai mua	Count off the crew for the lifting bars
Pe koa towu mo te waoa,	To see whether there are enough,
Tutu ki te yiki, e ikiiki atu to ki tai,	Stand at the carrying poles, carry the canoe place it in the water,
Na wakatato ko te mulivaka, tautapa kia Te Alongaoa;	The canoe captain beats his thighs, praying to Te Alongaoa the god:

1. This chant is called a *lalau.* It is sung at the feast following the conclusion of an intervillage fishing contest.

2. The first six lines describe the evening return of the fishing contest fleet to Ngake village. The women help to draw the canoes through the shallow lagoon channels to the beach. In the excitement of victory it was formerly common for sexual license to occur at this time.

539 "Tali ake to vayi ki tonga,	"Calm your waters to the south,
Tukia ngalepe te pupuni o Toutapuaki,	Pound to pieces Toutapuaki's barrier, (3)
Ke yuatiake ngalepe ake, te ika loa tele makalo."	Until rent asunder, break it that the long-tailed fish swim swiftly to Ngake's canoe."
Makatia te popoa mai muli,	Drop the bait from the rear,
Onono ki te akawuwulanga,	Watch for the coming of the fish,
Ye kutainatu ke kokolu, onoono e na ule kaina,	Don't lower a twisted noose; watch, o my men, (4)
Ki te yele kokoti motu i loto.	Loop the fish squarely in the middle.
Koa yeke tenei kainga, koa kupenga mamao mai tua,	This lineage is leading, having netted fish far out to sea,
Koa taki yele valu, yele witu,	Each man has noosed eight or seven fish,
Ulakinga te ika wakawowotu,	Carry ashore the fish of various kinds,
Yau ki to aumatavaka,	Come for your shares.
Ya akaolia te piliume tutakalia te alo kapanga,	We swung at the rowlocks, (5) encircling the corners of the lagoon,
Wawa i te atu lalau,	Proceeding to foreign lands,
Koa waki ia yeke i katea, e laumama ma to yoa!	A caught fish pulled to the starboard side, but friends, hoping to take it from us, were sorely disappointed!

[776] [226] 3. Toutapuaki was a god of Yato village who was thought of as maintaining in the ocean a barrier which would keep the fish from Ngake canoes so that Yato men might catch them all and win the contests. The men of each village prayed to their own gods to keep the fish away from their opponents' canoes while sending them to their own canoes.

4. For a discussion of the term of address here used by the canoe captain in steadying his canoe, see [reference obscure--analyst].

5. The reference to rowlocks is metaphorical only. Pukapukan canoes were always paddled. By association with the method of propulsion seen on European boats, the chanter sings as if the fishing canoes in making the customary circuit of the islets had proceeded to far off lands.

539 Chant of the Wrestling Ring (1)

Apo, apo i lunga a,	Lift, lift him on high,
E akaui tuki pui a--	Throw him down flat--
Mawela tu tulivae.	He sprawls on his knees.
E tui kaokao, lolomi,	Take him by his malo, press down,
Taka ki te tua,	Swing him on his back,
Yapai, maka ngutu maka vae	Lift and throw mouth to the ground, legs to the ground
Lapuia e te vave o Ngake,	Blown down by the strength of Ngake,
Na vivio i loto o te malae.	Standing firm in the middle of the ground.
Mawaki te launiu-	Broken is the coconut leaf--
Pangulungulu te leo.	Rumbling low are the many voices
Akaangawia to nawa a!	Face your challenger to us!
Mai lala, yaeyae!	The challenger from leeward! (2) Ah, torn to pieces!

The third tila chant from the Tamanu cycle (1)

Ko te titi o Pana, e mea mawakiwaki--	The kilts of Pana's women (2) are easily opened--
Ka lolomi ki te papa	Pressed to the ground,
Ya newutiai au	Thrown by me
Numi, numinumia lua ia lulu	Rolled over and over by the rival villagers,
Wawati na lima ma na vae,	Broken their hands and feet,
Wakaakaia, ngalepe na ngutu ma na mata,	Trodden and smashed their lips and eyes,

1. The four following chants are tila, sung to celebrate a village victory in a wrestling contest. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole page 369, category 116--analyst].

2. That is, from the leeward village of Yato.

1. This short wrestling chant is properly a member of the Tamanu cycle of chants. It is inserted in this context to show how easily the Pukapukan slips over from triumphs in one activity to those in the realm of sex.

2. The women of Ngake village.

539 Wakataulia wuake i lunga	Look from above, o two villages
Tau mea e winako ai koe--	On the strength you boasted of--
Yau, yaula ke aku avatu koe la lunga	Come, come now, that I may take you
Ko te tele o toku tino tangata	On the journey of my human body
Na tau ki Yiva ma Niue momoe ai,	Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping there,
Na tau ki Yiva ma Niue momoe ai!	Landed at Yiva and Niue, sleeping embracing!

A Chant of the wrestling ring

Ta taku tila,	Shout my chant,
Aka to tawa,	Kick to your side,
Wuwuli ki mua,	Turn toward the front,
Wuwuli ki muli.	Turn toward the back.
Wakatato ki te payu,	Beat the drum with fast rhythm,
Wawao ko te kakai.	The people jump high in their dancing.
Tangi te launiu ngatatatata,	Coconut leaf decorations rustle,
Newutia te pawola, koa leka.	Loud is the beating of hand against hand and thigh, fine is the sound.
Wuli tawa te kainga nunui,	The great body of dancers turns sideways,
Na wakatatawa na malatea,	Side by side, as numerous as a school of malatea fish,
E na! Motu ki mua, i a!	There! We have broken to the front with our victory, i a!

A Chant of the wrestling ring

Taku unu tika mai te yulu, na matiti to i Tongaleleva,	My chant is a dart of the south-west wind, (1) flying through the air, falling in Tongaleleva,

1. According to the Pukapukan idea, gods controlling the winds are thought of as fighting among themselves, hurling darts or spears at each other. See [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 311-312, category 116--analyst].

539	Koa yao loa na vave o Te Yiva ma te Yake,	Defeating the champions of Yiva and Yake, (2)
	E wuwuli ia pau na vaka, kopikopia.	Capsizing the canoes, crushing them to pieces.
	E kokoti ai taku lakau, koa ave, koa tomoemoe,	I cut my log for a canoe, the wood fits well, lies straight,
	E vaka a wu taku mea nei	My canoe is a woman's sexual organs
	Pe Wue na ye mai lalo.	Confused by its beauty am I as Wue, bewildered by the many islands of the west. (3)
	E kokoti ai tona atu mua o vavae ai tona atu loto	Cut off his first row of dancers, separated his middle row
	Koa yayaka a!	Dance, dance together!
	Motuyia na titi, tala e, tala e, tala na malo makatia--	Torn off are the men's leafy wreaths, untied and discarded their malo--(4)
	Ka amo te payu, ka wakalele!	We will raise the sound of the drum, beat it well!
	Ka nenewu tutuli na talinga,	Beat it till the ears are deafened,
	Opotia ke lulu ki te nawa.	Sound the wooden gong till the village gathers.
	Ka wakangaolo ko te atu mua, tiakina ke tupeke kiai,	The front row dances forward, waits there to raise their arms,
	Opotia loa ke pukupuku, ke manatua ke tane--	Gather till the group of dancers in full, if you desire men--
	Na mavete te unu, ke liakina, i a!	The chant is finished--the chanters display themselves, i a!

2. The names of these legendary lands are metaphorical substitutes for the names of Ngake's two opposing villages, Yato and Loto.

3. A reference to the extensive voyages in the eastern and western seas of Wue the great Pukapukan chiefly navigator (see account pp. 73-75).

4. For a note on the general license that often prevailed after sporting triumphs see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole p. 289, category 116--analyst].

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A Child's juggling chant (1)

Ta matou kionga nei i Yeu-manao	In our playing water games off the beach at Yeu-mamao
I te ipo na Lameka nei	The sweetheart of Lameka comes there,
I te tupu lelei, tenga patua	What a pretty body she has, struck were her thighs
Ya konikoni e Enoka	By the embrace of Enoka,
Kakole la ia Aumuna, Koyimatamai, Walapekamai.	Aumuna got nothing from the women Koyimatamai or Walapekamai. (2)
Taku poteka potekateka,	I spin my shell top round and round,
Taku kelinga pipi o tai	I scoop up shellfish on the beach,
Taku kao mata awiawi	I pick a flower bud to open in the evening.
Wakaake ko lunga o Matala	I climb to the top of the hill of Matala,
Ko te ulu tiale i Te Malama.	To the grove of tiale flowers at Te Malama.
Kiteai loa taku kauwi ngapeipei o te wala ia no Wainuku	I find ripe fruit on the pandanus tree of Wainuku--
Taku kaka wua lengalenga na tau i te niu na Kolia.	My ghost tern is nesting on its yellow eggs in the coconut tree of Kolia.

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1. This chant is sung by children as they skillfully and rhythmically juggle small immature coconuts. Note that the chant describes the daytime activities of a child as he wanders about the islet.

2. As the children play on the outer beaches little escapes their attention. On their return to the village they take mischievous delight in composing and singing little songs describing what they have seen, often to the extreme embarrassment of would-be secretive adults.